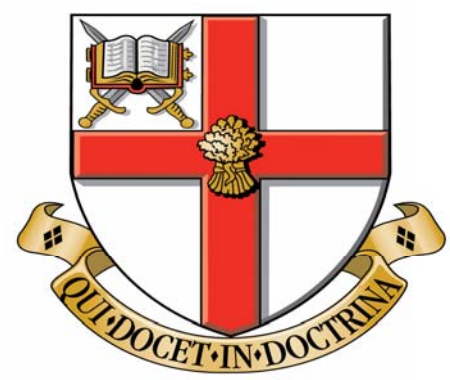

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The Inclusion of Pupils with Special Educational Needs: A Study of the Formulation and Implementation of the National Curriculum Physical Education

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Abstract

The thesis examines the planned and unplanned outcomes that are associated with the inclusion of pupils with Special Educational Needs (SEN) in the National Curriculum Physical Education (NCPE) 2000. This involved the use of the key concepts and assumptions that underpin the figurational perspective to examine, firstly, the emergence of disability as a social issue in the wider society and, subsequently, secondary school education. In this regard, the thesis highlights how wider social processes such as the campaigns undertaken by the disabled people's movement (Oliver and Barnes, 2008), and international policy developments such as the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) contributed, to varying degrees, to the increasing power chances of disabled people generally in the wider society. Subsequently, one outcome of these processes was that the British Government were constrained to provide all pupils with the opportunity to be educated in mainstream schools.

The figurational approach and, in particular, Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) were then used to analyse the NCPE 1992, 1995 and 2000 documents, and their associated consultation materials. This approach was used because it was argued that Elias's theoretical framework may allow the researcher to identify all the major players – that is, the whole relational network – involved in the formulation of the NCPE, and the extent to which the objectives of each player, and their subsequent power struggles with each other, impacted upon the NCPEs' overall objectives and content. In this regard, the thesis suggests that the British Government were able to constrain, to varying degrees, the power and actions of the PE Working Groups by setting the format for the Groups' recommendations, the groups they should consult, and the time scale within which they were expected to complete their consultation and recommendations. This resulted in the outcomes generated from these formulation processes being largely understood in relation to the government's elite sports performance objectives, with 'inclusion issues' being at the periphery of their objectives for PE.

Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) were also used to examine the extent to which the objectives of the players involved in the implementation of the NCPE 2000 generated outcomes – that were identified by examining existing empirical data – which none of the players involved in the formulation process planned for, or could have foreseen. In this regard, the thesis has suggested that, although the government were by far the most powerful player during the formulation process, their actions – that is, their desire to develop a flexible, inclusive PE curriculum – gave PE teachers the power to determine the extent to which the government's elite sports performance and inclusion objectives would be achieved. From this process, research suggests that a planned outcome of the NCPE 2000 is that many PE teachers are using their power chances to further their own and, more specifically, the government's, elite sports performance objectives. However, an unplanned outcome of this process is that some pupils with SEN are spending less time in PE, and are participating in a narrower range of activities than their age-peers in mainstream and special schools.

Declaration

I confirm that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or examination. I have read and understood the University's regulations on plagiarism and I declare this as my own original work.

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Contents

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Eric Dunning, Professor Ken Green, Dr Katie Liston and Professor Patrick Murphy have all contributed enormously – along with Andy and Ivan – to my academic development, and their expert knowledge and advice has enabled me to think much more critically and sociologically.

Introduction

The thesis examines the planned and unplanned outcomes that are associated with the inclusion of pupils with Special Educational Needs (SEN) in the National Curriculum Physical Education (NCPE) 2000. In this regard, it is suggested that, whilst there is an ever expanding body of literature that has examined the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream physical education (PE) lessons from the perspective of PE teachers (see, for example, Hodge, Ommah, Casebolt, LaMasters and O'Sullivan, 2004; Morely, Bailey, Tan and Cooke, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004), and from those of the pupils themselves (see, for example, Atkinson and Black, 2006; Brittain, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2005; Fitzgerald, Jobling and Kirk, 2003a, 2003b; Goodwin and Watkinson, 2000), little attempt has been made to examine the outcomes generated from the introduction of policies designed to promote the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE in England (Smith, 2008). In particular, little research has been conducted in this field from an explicitly sociological perspective. Indeed, none of the research noted above use a model which offers an adequate understanding, on a more theoretical level, of the processes involved whereby the intended objectives of the NCPE 2000 generate both planned and, perhaps more importantly, unplanned outcomes in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN. It is argued, therefore, that reference to such a theoretical model is required because, without a continual interdependence, or, 'an uninterrupted two-way traffic (Elias, 1987, p. 20), between empirical data and a theoretical model, the collection of detailed knowledge in relation to the outcomes generated from the NCPE 2000 will be of limited use (Dopson and Waddington, 1996). This is because, as Dopson and Waddington (1996, p.533) have noted, 'it is only by the use of theoretical models that we can generalize from one situation to another, and only by means of

constantly checking against empirical results can we test the adequacy of our theoretical models'.

In light of this dearth of research, the thesis aims to examine – using the key concepts and assumptions that underpin Elias's figurational perspective and, in particular, his game models (Elias, 1978) – the planned and unplanned outcomes that are associated with the inclusion of pupils with SEN in the NCPE 2000. In endeavouring to achieve this objective, the following questions are to be answered. First, in relation to including pupils with SEN in mainstream PE, what were the formally stated objectives of the NCPE 2000? Second, who were the groups involved in the formulation of these objectives, and how did their own personal objectives impact upon the formulation of the NCPE 2000? Third, who were the groups involved in the implementation of the NCPE 2000, and how did their own personal objectives impact upon the achievement of the NCPE 2000's inclusion objectives? Finally, what planned and unplanned outcomes were generated from the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE lessons?

To answer these questions, Chapter One provides a brief examination of the sociological perspective that forms the theoretical framework for this thesis, namely, figurational sociology. In particular, the chapter examines the concept of the 'figuration', interdependency ties, power balances, unplanned outcomes, game models (Elias, 1978) and Elias's seminal work on involvement and detachment (Elias, 1987) as central concepts of the figurational approach. At the same time, moreover, the chapter seeks to exhibit the particular fruitfulness of the figurational approach for examining the planned and unplanned outcomes of the formulation and implementation processes of the NCPE 2000. This is then followed by an

introduction to, and sociological justification for, the use of documentary analysis as a research method. In particular, Chapter One will show how the key concepts and assumptions that underpin the figurational approach helped inform the selection of documentary analysis as the most appropriate method for identifying the planned and unplanned outcomes of the formulation and implementation of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN.

The second chapter includes a sociological examination of the emergence of disability as an issue in the wider society and, subsequently, in secondary school education. Specifically, it focuses on the wider social processes and national legislation, all of which contributed, to varying degrees, to the increasing power chances of the disabled people's movement and, therefore, of some disabled people generally in the wider society (Oliver and Barnes, 2008). Chapter Three provides a sociological examination of the formulation of the NCPE in 1992 and the subsequent revisions of the NCPE which occurred in 1995 and 2000. This involves an examination of the formally stated objectives of the NCPE documents and their associated consultation materials regarding the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE. Elias's game models are then used to try to help illuminate the interdependency ties and power balances between all the major 'players' involved in the formulation process, in order to examine how the actions of each player both enabled and constrained the subsequent actions of each other (Elias, 1978). Adopting this approach, it is suggested, may help identify the extent to which the objectives of each player involved in the formulation of the NCPEs impacted upon their overall objectives and content. Additionally, this chapter will also note the omission of any inclusion objectives because it is suggested that this can be equally as important, if not more important, than the objectives included because it can show how some players (such as policy-makers) can use their greater power chances to exclude the views and

opinions of less powerful players (such as PE teachers). Finally, the chapter will examine the NCPE documents to discover which other political objectives the government and policy-makers prioritized. This approach is adopted to determine whether the government's policy objectives are compatible because, when policies are not compatible, they can have consequences which militate against, or even undermine, the achievement of their objectives and the objectives of other policies (Murphy and Waddington, 1998). In other words, if the NCPE documents contain other political objectives that are not compatible with their inclusion objectives, this could, potentially, constrain the extent to which the government achieves the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE lessons.

Chapter Four provides a sociological examination of the implementation of the NCPE 2000. In particular, the players involved in the implementation process are identified and Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) are used to try to examine the extent to which the objectives of these players generated outcomes which none of the players involved in the formulation process planned for, or could have foreseen. In this regard, unplanned outcomes are identified by comparing the intended objectives of the NCPE 2000 with the actual outcomes associated with its implementation, as identified by the findings of existing research. More specifically, government reports that focus on the participation rates of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE lessons, and peer-reviewed journal articles which focus on the views and experiences of PE from the perspective of pupils with SEN and PE teachers who have experience of teaching pupils with SEN in PE, will be compared to the intended objectives of the NCPE 2000. Finally, the Conclusion provides a summary of the main themes and issues of the research project and draw together the main findings. The original research questions are also revisited at this stage and an examination of the extent to which these questions have been addressed will be provided. The Conclusion will then revisit the NCPE 2000 formulation and

implementation processes and examine how an understanding of unplanned outcomes may help identify and minimize any potential implications for future NCPE revisions, in relation to pupils with SEN.

Before examining, in Chapter One, the figurational approach and documentary analysis, it is important to note that, in this thesis, the term SEN refers to those pupils who 'possess a learning difficulty (i.e. a significantly greater difficulty in learning than the majority of the children of the same age, or a disability which makes it difficult to use the educational facilities generally provided locally); and if that learning difficulty calls for special educational provision to be made for them (i.e. provision additional to, or different from, that made generally for children of the same age in local schools)' (DfEE, 1997, p. 12). It also includes those pupils with behavioural difficulties and those pupils who are considered 'gifted' in one way or another (Audit Commission, 2002; DES/WO, 1991). For the rest of this thesis, then, the term 'pupils with SEN' will refer to those pupils (some of whom may have disabilities), who have a particular learning need which arises from a wide range of difficulties, including, physical, cognitive, sensory, communicative or behavioural difficulties (Audit Commission, 2002). This definition omits, however, 'gifted' pupils because this group are not the focus of the thesis, apart from those 'gifted' pupils who experience physical, cognitive, sensory, communicative or behavioural difficulties (Audit Commission, 2002). It is also important to note at this juncture that the term SEN is a contextual concept insofar as an individual may have a SEN in a classroom based subject but would not necessarily have a SEN in PE. Take, for example, an individual who has dyslexia. They may have a SEN within an English lesson but they would not necessarily require additional provision to be made for them in a PE lesson. Conversely, however, an individual who requires a wheelchair for

mobility would not necessarily have a SEN in an English lesson but would almost definitely require additional provision in a PE lesson (DfEE, 1997).

Chapter One:

Figurational Sociology and Research Methods

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is, first, to provide a brief examination of the sociological perspective that forms the theoretical framework for this thesis, namely, figurational sociology. Specifically, the chapter examines the concept of 'figuration', interdependency ties, power balances, unplanned outcomes, game models (Elias, 1978) and Elias's seminal work on involvement and detachment (Elias, 1987) as central concepts of the figurational approach. At the same time, moreover, the chapter endeavours to illustrate the particular fruitfulness of this approach for examining the planned and unplanned outcomes of the formulation and implementation processes of the NCPEs. This is then followed by an introduction to, and sociological justification for, the use of documentary analysis as a research method. In particular, the chapter will show how the key concepts and assumptions that underpin the figurational approach informed the selection of documentary analysis as the most appropriate method for identifying the planned and unplanned outcomes of the formulation and implementation of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN.

The Figuration

Figurational sociology – or, process sociology as it is also known – developed out of the work of Norbert Elias (1897-1990). The central concept of this approach is the 'figuration', which should be conceptualized as a dynamic web of human beings, whereby the emphasis is

placed on people in the plural and how people are tied into social networks because of their interdependence with each other (Elias, 1978). Within the PE context, the figuration on which this thesis will mainly focus involves: government ministers, policy-makers, school governors, head teachers, PE teachers and other teachers, pupils with and without SEN, teacher trainers, SENCOs and LSAs. In short, the whole network of interdependencies involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs, with particular attention paid to the differential power balances that form part of these relationships.

Elias developed the concept of the figuration in order to try to overcome some of the theoretical problems linked with traditional sociological terms and theories. In particular, he was critical of what he considered as misleading dichotomies such as those between the individual and society, or, 'agent' and 'structure'; and also of the tendency of many sociological models to process reduce. That is, to represent in 'static, isolated categories', everything (such as long-term social processes) that is observed as 'dynamic and interdependent' (Murphy, Sheard and Waddington, 2000, p. 92). For Elias (1978), it is not productive to consider the 'individual' and 'society' as two separate entities. Instead, these two concepts refer to 'inseparable levels of the same human world' (Murphy *et al*, 2000, p. 92). Indeed, societies should be viewed as nothing more than dynamic and developing networks of 'open human beings', inextricably bonded together (Elias, 1978, p. 135). By placing particular emphasis on people in the plural, Elias offers a non-reifying conceptualization of the relationship between people and society (Elias, 1978). In the context of this study, for example, PE teachers are bonded together and affected by the actions of government ministers, policy-makers and SENCOs, to name a few.

The concept of development, moreover, is employed because it ‘more adequately captures the complexity of figurations in flux’ (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p. 133). In fact, figurations are *constantly* in flux; they undergo changes of many kinds, ‘some rapid and ephemeral, others slower but perhaps more lasting’ (Goudsblom, 1977, p. 252). It is important to note, however, that there is no inevitability to the course taken by a particular figurational sequence (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). That is, complex figurations can involve a myriad of people (for example, head teachers, PE teachers, SENCOs and LSAs) and, therefore, the course of the figurational sequence can be difficult – but not impossible – to predict, particularly for those involved. This is because each group are often involved in power struggles with each other and, in many cases, these groups are so committed to achieving their own objectives that the outcomes generated from their intended actions are often difficult to foresee. In addition, it should be borne in mind that the interdependent relations of which this perspective focuses are not necessarily, nor predominantly, relationships of the ‘face to face’ variety (Green, 2003, p. 17). Rather, people are often influenced and affected in a variety of ways by the actions of individuals and groups whom they may have never met. PE teachers, for example, are interdependent with government ministers and are therefore often affected, usually through policy, by their actions. It is very unlikely, however, that these teachers and government ministers have ever, or will ever, come face-to-face. In this regard, it is noteworthy that teachers have the capacity to resist government policy because of the relative power they have as delivers of policy.

Power

Power relations form a central dimension of interdependency ties, conceptualized not as a property that an individual or group possesses and another does not, but rather as a ‘structural

characteristic of all human relationships' (Elias, 1978, p. 74). From this view, power should be considered in regard to its relative balance; it is never an absolute possession or deprivation, for 'no one is ever absolutely powerful or powerless' (Murphy *et al*, 2000, p. 93). This is because power is always distributed differentially and there are many sources and kinds power. In short, the balance of power in a figuration is never permanent because power balances are multi-dimensional, dynamic and constantly in flux (Murphy *et al*, 2000). To illustrate, take, for example, the Marxist assumption which stresses the importance of economic power in *all* power relations and social development. A figurational perspective would argue that the significance of economic power is likely to vary from one situation to another (Dunning, 1992; Murphy *et al*, 2000) with coercive and persuasive power being just as important, or even more important, in other situations. At some point, for example, an individual or group (such as the British Government) can maintain a high degree of coercive power within the process of formulating the NCPE because of their political influence. However, in other situations (such as the implementation of the NCPE) this power may diminish significantly because of their inability to persuade PE teachers to work towards achieving their political objectives. In this vein, all power balances contain elements of cooperation and conflict, which inevitably result in both planned and unplanned outcomes (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994), and it is to the latter of these outcomes that this chapter will now turn.

Unplanned Outcomes

In the past, unplanned outcomes have been described as anomalies of social life (see, for example, Merton, 1949); however, to describe them as such only 'mystifies' the process involved (Murphy and Sheard, 2008, p. 51). Indeed, unplanned outcomes are not 'a curious

footnote to sociology' (Mennell, 1992, p. 258), rather, they are universal in social life and, 'once unravelled, there is nothing mysterious about them. They are consequences of the complex interweaving of human beings with different beliefs, associated misconceptions and divergent objectives' (Murphy and Sheard, 2008, p. 51). Indeed, the figurational approach stresses that human action is, to varying degrees, consciously directed toward the achievement of personal goals and desires (Hanstad, Smith and Waddington, 2008). At the same time, however, it is important to note that the outcomes generated from complex social processes (such as the formulation and implementation of the NCPE) cannot be explained by the actions of specific individuals or groups. Instead, it should be recognized that the complex interweaving of a myriad of individuals and groups who wish to maintain, promote and advance their own objectives inevitably generates outcomes that no one would have planned for, or could have foreseen (Dopson and Waddington, 1996; Elias, 1978; Hanstad *et al*, 2008; Murphy and Sheard, 2008). For example, the formulation and implementation of the NCPE involved many groups with divergent objectives such as policy-makers, ITT providers and PE teachers; a process which, following this key assumption, would have almost inevitably generated both planned *and* unplanned outcomes. Mennell (1992) uses the metaphor of a stone being dropped into a pool to illustrate how the intended actions of certain individuals and groups can impact upon other individuals and groups who would ostensibly appear to be autonomous of each other. He writes: 'like the effect of a stone dropped into a pool, the consequences of people's actions ripple outwards through society until they are lost from sight. Their effects are felt, not at random but according to the structure of the figuration in which they are enmeshed, by people who may be quite unknown to each other and unaware of their mutual interdependence' (Mennell, 1992, p. 258).

Elias's concept of unplanned outcomes is particularly applicable to the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs. Indeed, the formulation and implementation of policy is a complex process which almost inevitably involves both planned and unplanned outcomes (Dopson and Waddington, 1996). This is because the NCPE policy process involves many people in different roles within the figuration and the extent to which these people are committed to, or opposed to, the NCPE policy will play a crucial role in determining its outcomes (Dopson and Waddington, 1996). In summary, then, because of the intended actions and subsequent power struggles between the many individuals and groups involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs, the complexity of this process will almost inevitably generate outcomes that no individual or group would have planned for, or could have foreseen. To better understand this complex social process, the thesis draws upon Elias's (1978) game models, so it is to an examination of these that this chapter will now turn.

Game Models

Elias developed the concept of game models in order to 'isolate in close focus the interweaving of the aims and actions of people in the plural' (1978, p. 73), thereby making these complex processes more easily understandable. In short, the game models offer simplified analogies of highly complex social processes, thus making social problems 'more accessible to scientific reflection' (Elias, 1978, p. 92). The models help identify, more graphically, the 'processual nature' (Dopson and Waddington, 1996, p. 537) of relationships between interdependent people, whilst focusing attention on changing balances of power as a 'central concept' (Dopson and Waddington, 1996, p. 537) of human figurations. Game models, moreover, illuminate the ways in which interdependency ties 'inescapably constrain

[and enable] people to a greater or lesser extent' (Green, 2003, p. 19) by focusing on how the dependency of individuals and groups on the actions of other individuals and groups influences their own actions. In other words, the game models may allow the researcher to isolate the interweaving of the players involved in the planning and implementation of the NCPEs, and illuminate the subsequent power struggles that may have impacted upon the formulation and delivery of its objectives.

According to Jarvie and Maguire (1994) game models serve three main purposes. First, they highlight how the pattern of social life is not the direct outcome of the intended actions of any one individual or group. Instead, the figurations formed by social actors are the unintended outcome of the interweaving of an innumerable amount of intended actions. Second, 'the polymorphous, relational and dynamic nature of power' can be illuminated in the study of game models (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p. 135). Finally, the study of game models serves a 'didactic function' (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p. 136). That is, through immersing ourselves in game dynamics, the processual and relational type of thinking that is seen as an essential pre-requisite to sociological research can surface (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). In other words, through the application of game models the researcher may be able to identify the main players involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs, identify the ways in which they were tied to each other, and examine how their relationship with each other and their associated power struggles both enabled and constrained the achievement of their own objectives, and the objectives of the NCPE 2000. With the above examination in mind, this chapter will now provide an introduction to, and examination of, two-person and multi-person games (Elias, 1978).

The Game

Envisage a game of chess played by two people – or, in this instance, two groups involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPE – one of whom has much more power and ability than the other. The more powerful group (for example, the British Government) has a great deal of control over the other (for example, PE teachers) insofar as they can actually force their opponent to make certain moves. At the same time, however, the group with the lesser power still has some degree of control over the more powerful group, even if it is only because the more powerful group must take into account the moves of their opponent when planning their own moves (Elias, 1978; Mennell, 1992). Nonetheless, because one group's power far exceeds the others, they can, to a significant extent, 'control *the course of the game itself*' (Mennell, 1992, p. 260 emphasis in the original) or, the NCPE formulation and implementation processes. Conversely, however, a rather different game pattern emerges if their power becomes gradually more equal. According to Mennell (1992), when this occurs two things diminish. Firstly, the more powerful group's ability to determine the course of the game decreases and, secondly, their opponent's ability to control them increases correlatively. However, the consequence of this process is that the game becomes increasingly beyond the control of either group. In short, when the power disparity of the two groups diminishes, 'there will result from the interweaving of the moves of the two players a game process that neither of them planned for' (Elias, 1978, p. 82).

As the number of players in the game increases, for example, with the addition of policy-makers, ITT and CPD providers, LSAs and SENCOs, so does the complexity of the game. Indeed, regardless of how powerful an individual player may be, they will become less able to control the moves of other players or dictate the course and outcome of the game. The

British Government, for example, *will* inevitably become less able to guarantee that their objectives are achieved. From the vantage point of an individual player, the interweaving web of more and more players may appear 'as though it has a life of its own' (Elias, 1978, p. 85). In short, game models highlight the conditions under which each group involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPE slowly begin to encounter problems regarding their specific objectives (Hanstad *et al*, 2008), whereby the game process undertakes 'a course which *none of the individual players has planned, determined or anticipated*' (Elias, 1978, p. 95 emphasis in the original). In other words, because of the sheer complexity of these formulation and implementation processes, the intended actions of the government, policy-makers, PE teachers and all the other groups involved, will inevitably generate unplanned outcomes. With the above concepts in mind, this chapter will now examine the final concept to be employed in this thesis, namely, Elias's seminal work on involvement and detachment (Elias, 1987).

Involvement and Detachment

Elias conceptualizes the development of human knowledge as 'a continuum along which blends of involvement *and* detachment are located' (Mennell, 1992, p. 160 emphasis added). This continuum should be viewed as being 'open' at both ends because, unlike Talcott Parsons' concepts of 'affectivity' and 'non-affective' (Parsons, 1951; cited in Mennell, 1992), or the traditional dualism of 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity, there is no such thing as absolute involvement or detachment; there is no 'zero-point' (Mennell, 1992, p. 160). The development of knowledge, moreover, is a continuous process that is developed and learned by people bonded together in complex webs of interdependence (Dunning, 1992; Elias, 1978; Kilminister, 1998). Conceptualizing the development of knowledge in this way allows

researchers to grasp more adequately its social nature without reinforcing the traditional view that all knowledge must be considered as either true or false (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998). In short, knowledge has always been, and will always be, both involved *and* detached and, therefore, it is more productive for researchers to conceptualize explanations based on such knowledge in terms of varying degrees of reality-congruence (Elias, 1987; Mennell, 1992). This concept does not mean that as involvement increases so detachment decreases; instead, it should be viewed as a 'dynamic tension balance embodied in [all] social activities' (Kilminster, 2004, p. 31). The involvement and detachment concept is, moreover, relational and processual, and, therefore, provides sociologists with a framework with which they can examine the development, over time, of more, rather than less, reality-congruent knowledge (Murphy *et al*, 2000).

It is clear, then, that a balance of involvement and detachment is present in all human behaviour (Elias, 1987), and sociologists – much like everyone else in society – are inextricably bound to social networks outside of their academic communities and are, therefore, unable to cease to be influenced and affected by these networks (Elias, 1987). An important implication of the social researcher is that they can realistically only seek to develop explanations that have a greater degree of adequacy than preceding explanations (Elias, 1987). From this view, notions of 'ultimate truth' and 'complete detachment' are considered impossible (Murphy *et al*, 2000, p. 94). The aim for sociologists, it seems, is to 'maintain an appropriate balance between being an everyday participant and scientific enquirer', whilst endeavouring to ensure the 'undisputed dominance' of the latter (Murphy *et al*, 2000, p. 94). When examining the planned and unplanned outcomes of the formulation and implementation of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN, for example, the researcher must aim to distance themselves from any emotional ties or

ideological beliefs they may hold in regard to this area, in order to provide a more adequate and reality-congruent examination (Elias, 1987).

It is appreciated that the foregoing examination cannot do justice to the theoretical complexity of the figurational perspective. It will, nevertheless, serve in this context as a general introduction to the central concepts that will be tested throughout this thesis. With the aforementioned concepts in mind, this chapter will now provide and introduction to, and sociological justification for, the use of documentary analysis as the most appropriate research method for identifying the groups involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs, their interdependency ties and power balances, and the planned and unplanned outcomes of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN.

Documentary Analysis and Figurational Sociology

It is often suggested that the most adequate way of approaching any type of research is to select one research method, or a combination of research methods, that represent the most appropriate tool(s) for generating the relevant data that helps to explore the sociological problem (Bryman, 2004; Mason, 2006; Punch, 2005). From a figurational perspective, however, it is suggested that the selection of research method(s) should be based on the premise that they form part of the theoretically-guided and empirically informed research that contributes towards the fund of reality-congruent knowledge within the area investigated (Elias, 1987). The research method(s), moreover, should be determined by the question(s) being posed and 'considered against the background of the context, circumstances and practical aspects of the particular research project' (Punch, 2005, p. 58), rather than by the

personal preferences of the investigator. The researcher, for example, should not conduct documentary analysis simply because they are uncomfortable with conducting interviews.

The research method that is used for identifying the planned and unplanned outcomes of the NCPEs is documentary analysis. Payne and Payne (2004) suggest that documents are created when individuals and groups record their knowledge, ideas and feelings. The NCPE 2000, for example, was created from the knowledge, ideas and beliefs of many individuals and groups who had varying degrees of influence on its structure and content. According to Scott (1990), documents can be separated into four distinct categories regarding the degree of their accessibility, namely, closed, restricted, open-archival and open-published. For the purpose of this thesis, 'open-archival' and 'open-published' documents are used; in short, documents that are accessible to the public with no restrictions applied, or permission required (Scott, 1990). In particular, for 'The Formulation of the NCPE' chapter, government documents such as the NCPE 1992, 1995 and 2000, and their corresponding consultation materials, are examined to determine, first, their stated inclusion objectives relating to the inclusion of pupils with SEN, and second, who was involved and, perhaps more significantly, who was not involved in the planning of the documents, and if their own personal objectives impacted on the formulation of the NCPEs' objectives. In this regard, it is important to note that the objectives of each player may not be written down in these documents, therefore, in this instance, the researcher will consider the interests and objectives of the organizations that each player represents. For example, a representative from Sport England will be primarily concerned with, amongst other things, the development of grass roots sport and the identification of talented athletes (Sport England, 2008). The NCPE documents, moreover, may not explicitly refer to their 'inclusion objectives', therefore, the researcher will be sensitive to corresponding terms and concepts such as 'equity', 'equality' and 'equal opportunities' throughout the examination of these documents. Additionally, it is also

noteworthy that the omission of any inclusion objectives is equally as important, if not more important, than the inclusion of these objectives because it can show how some players (such as policy-makers) can use their power to exclude the views and opinions of other players (such as disability representative groups).

The NCPE documents will also be examined to discover what other political objectives the government and policy-makers prioritized. This approach is adopted to determine whether the NCPEs' policy objectives are compatible because when policies are not compatible, they can have consequences which militate against, or even undermine, the achievement of their objectives and the objectives of other policies (Murphy and Waddington, 1998). In short, if the NCPE documents contain other political objectives that are not compatible with their inclusion objectives, this could, potentially, constrain the extent to which the government achieves the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE. It must also be noted at this juncture that the time between the publication of the NCPE in 1995 and the NCPE 2000, marked a change of government and, thus, a potential ideological shift in terms of attitude towards equal opportunities. This thesis will, therefore, examine the potential impact of this change of government on the objectives of the NCPE 2000 relating to the inclusion of pupils with SEN. For the chapter entitled 'The Implementation of the NCPE 2000', this thesis will perform a process of documentary analysis on existing research relating to the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE. In particular, government reports which focus of the participation rates of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE lessons, and peer-reviewed journal articles which focus on the views and experiences of PE from the perspective of pupils with SEN and PE teachers who have experience teaching pupils with SEN in the NCPE, will be examined to identify the planned and unplanned outcomes of the NCPE 2000. In this regard, planned and unplanned outcomes will be determined by comparing the actual outcomes of

the NCPE 2000 – as identified by the findings of existing research – with the objectives of the NCPE 2000. It must be noted, however, that the information presented in the reports and journal articles will not be accepted uncritically; rather, the researcher will examine the empirical data to determine its reality-congruence with the information presented.

Documentary analysis was chosen because NCPE documents (for example) offer 'concrete' accounts that 'give access to the past' and of events at which the researcher was not present (Payne and Payne, 2004, p. 65). Indeed, apart from trying to locate and survey or interview those involved in the formulation and implementation of these documents – a difficult task for even the most experienced researcher – they are the only source available for examining who was involved in the formulation of these documents, how each player was interdependently tied to each other, what the objectives of each player were, and how they impacted on the formulation and implementation of the NCPE documents. It is important to note, however, that these documents cannot be regarded as presenting an 'objective' description of the situation at the time (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004; Bryman, 2008; May, 2003). Instead, these documents should be viewed as having more or less degrees of reality-congruence (Elias, 1987) because 'they [documents] are written in order to convey an impression, one which will be favourable to the authors and those whom they represent' (Bryman, 2008, p. 527). In short, following a key assumption of the figurational perspective, the NCPE documents will contain the ideological beliefs of those who formulated them because they were written from a position with varying degrees of involvement or detachment. The researcher, therefore, must aim to 'read between the lines' (Payne and Payne, 2004, p. 62) and separate the mythical from the more reality-congruent information. To achieve this, the researcher must ensure that they do not accept the information presented in these documents uncritically; instead, they must compare the information against the

empirical research available and only then will the researcher be able to determine the reality-congruence of the information.

Documents are particularly valuable because they allow sociologists to learn more about the social worlds of the people who created them. They allow the researcher to place him or herself within the context in which the document authors would have found themselves. Indeed, when examining the NCPE documents, the researcher will be able to consider the wider social processes that may have impacted upon the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs and locate – within the figuration – all the players who were involved in their planning and implementation. This process, it is suggested, may help the researcher to shed light on the interdependency ties – that is, the whole network of relations – between all the players involved in the planning and implementation of the NCPEs, and illuminate the extent to which power struggles between these players impacted on the formulation of the documents' objectives, thus generating planned and unplanned outcomes. However, one of the most frequently held objections to documentary analysis of this type is researcher bias (Bryman, 2008; Payne and Payne, 2004). Bryman (2008) suggests that 'a question mark has been placed over the reading of texts [documents] by social scientists' because 'the social scientist is always providing his or her own 'spin' on the texts [documents] they are analysing' (p. 526). In short, Bryman is suggesting that a researcher's predisposition and ideological beliefs often inform the analysis. However, by undertaking an interpretivist approach to documentary analysis – a process of 'reading between the lines' – the researcher *must* engage in a certain degree of involvement.

To overcome some of the issues associated with research bias, figurationalists would argue that the researcher must actively endeavour to place their practical and personal concerns to one side, thus distancing themselves as far as possible from their ideological beliefs (Maguire, 1988). From this, sociologists must be both relatively involved *and* detached because, as stated earlier, all human behaviour contain blends of both (Elias, 1987; Mennell, 1992). In short, it is a question of gaining an appropriate balance because the achievement of complete detachment is an impossible goal. According to Maguire (1988), 'the sociologist-as-participant must be able to stand back and become the sociologist as-observer-and-interpreter' (p. 190); this, however, is by no means an easy process. Unlike researchers studying the natural sciences, sociologists are inextricably interwoven in what they study, namely, figurations. It is suggested, however, that through actively endeavouring to achieve an adequately detached position, the researcher will be able to produce a more realistic examination of the situation than previous attempts; a process which will ultimately add to the reality-congruence of knowledge in this area (Elias, 1987). To achieve this, the researcher must ensure that they do not select evidence on the basis that it supports their hypothesis or ideological beliefs; instead, they must critically examine all the evidence available and then endeavour to provide a well-balanced and well-informed conclusion.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to outline some of the key concepts and assumptions that underpin the figurational approach, and show how these informed the selection of documentary analysis as the most appropriate method for answering the research question of this thesis, namely, what are the planned and unplanned outcomes of the formulation and implementation of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN? From this,

it has been suggested that, through the use of documentary analysis and Elias's game models (Elias, 1978), the researcher may begin to examine the extent to which wider social processes have impacted upon the formulation and implementation of the NCPEs and locate – within the figuration – all the players who were involved in their planning and implementation. In other words, documentary analysis and game models may enable the research to shed light on the whole network of relations involved in the planning and implementation of the NCPEs, and illuminate how the power struggles associated with the relational constraints that characterize the whole network impacted on the formulation and implementation of the objectives set out in the documents. In short, then, documentary analysis was chosen because it represented the most appropriate means of generating the relevant data to help explore the sociological problem under investigation. That is, it was based on the premise that it formed part of the theoretically-guided and empirically informed research that aims to contribute towards the fund of reality-congruent knowledge within the area of including pupils with SEN in the NCPE (Elias, 1987). After all, the most important aspect of the research process is the knowledge generated rather than the methods used. The next chapter will now explore the emergence of disability as an issue in the wider society and, subsequently, secondary education.

Chapter Two:

Disability as a Social Issue

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the emergence of disability as an issue in the wider society and, subsequently, in secondary school education. To achieve this objective, the chapter endeavours to examine those wider social processes and national legislation which contributed to an increase in the power chances of the disabled people's movement and, therefore, of some disabled people generally in the wider society (Oliver and Barnes, 2008). In particular, this chapter examines the increasing power chances of some disabled people as it occurred in three main 'waves' during the 1940s -1950s, 1960s-1970s, and from the 1980s to the present.

Wave One: 1940s -1950s

Following a key assumption of the figurational perspective, which rejects the possibility of identifying absolute beginnings and ends to complex social processes, the emergence of disability as an issue in society should be viewed as a long-term process that has roots that can be traced back to the Second World War as part of the British welfare state, and the government focus on social policy (Oliver and Barnes, 1998). The formulation of the British welfare state was stimulated, in part, by an economic recession which followed the end of the Second World War. That is, the establishment of the welfare state aimed to create an all

encompassing approach to social policy which intended to provide, amongst other things, ‘cradle-to-grave’(Oliver and Barnes, 1998, p. 27) security to all British citizens as a way of preventing a repeat of the social unrest that followed the First World War. One outcome of this commitment was an increase in financial expenditure in health, education, employment and social security. From this, disabled people were no longer encompassed in broader policy initiatives – designed for the whole population – as sub-groups; instead, they were explicitly identified and targeted in subsequent social policy developments (Oliver and Barnes, 1998). These policy developments may have promised much for disabled people. Indeed, through being formally identified as a social group which required specific social provision, some disabled people may have thought that their power chances would increase because of political recognition. It must be noted, however, that an unplanned outcome of these policy developments was that disabled people were formally identified as being ‘different’ from the ‘normal’ members of the wider society because they required additional provision; a process that arguably contributed to their stigmatization (Goffman, 1963).

The first Act of parliament that was directly focused upon disabled people as a single group was the 1944 Disabled Persons Employment Act (Topliss, 1982).The aim of this Act was to ensure rights for disabled people in the work place. The Act also suggested, for the first time, that disabled pupils should be educated alongside their non-disabled peers in mainstream education (Tomlinson, 1982). This view, however, would not gain the support required for it to become a reality for another 35 years or so, because of the limited political power of disabled people at the time. That is, because disabled people had very little political power within the figurations in which they were enmeshed, their views and opinions were not afforded a high status of political or social concern. Nonetheless, two years later the National Assistance Act in 1948 created the expectation that local authorities should arrange

community services for disabled people (Oliver and Barnes, 1998). This Act, however, did not *require* local authorities to provide services; indeed, it is suggested that *many* disabled people were left with the choice of either going into residential care or living in mainstream communities and, therefore, within the constraints of the limited social, medical and economic support that was available (Oliver and Barnes, 1998; Thomas and Smith, 2009). The British Government also released the National Health Service (NHS) Act (1948) in the same year which, amongst others things, provided hospital-based treatment and long-term care for disabled people. Indeed, the government did, to a large extent at the time, focus their policies towards the 'treatment' of disability. That is to say, disability was viewed largely as an individual 'problem' in which many of the 'victims' could be rehabilitated and cured (Davis, 1999; Oliver, 1996; Oliver and Barnes, 1998). This view of disabled people, which focuses on their impairments, is firmly rooted in what is commonly known as the medical model of disability. In short, the medical model of disability is founded on the notion that many of the problems that disabled people encounter are a result of their own physical or mental impairments (Brittain, 2004; Hahn, 1986). This concept assumes that impairment alone is the cause of disability when, according to the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS), 'disability is the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes little or no account of people who have impairments and thus excludes them from participating in the mainstream of social activities' (UPIAS, 1976, p. 14). In other words, disability is more than a biological condition; rather, it has roots in the unequal power relations between non-disabled and disabled members of society (Thomas and Smith, 2009). A medical model view of disability, moreover, overlooks the notion that disability is socially constructed, and ignores the complex ways in which perceptions and experiences of disability varies between societies and changes over time

(Barnes and Mercer, 2003; Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare, 1999; Thomas and Smith, 2009).

For centuries, the British Government had often incarcerated many disabled people in closed institutions such as hospitals and 'special' schools (Barnes and Mercer, 2003; Collins, 2003; Goffman, 1961; Oliver and Barnes, 1998). The introduction of the Education Act in 1944, however, marked a watershed in education provision for disabled pupils by providing a 'special needs' education system (DoE, 1944). One outcome of this Act was the introduction of a medically defined segregated system with different types of schools for pupils in each of the eleven identified 'handicaps' (Dyson and Millward, 2000; Thomas, 2007). This system, however, was still firmly rooted in the view that the impairments of disabled people could be treated and cured. Indeed, the combination of a commitment by the government, policy-makers and the health profession to the medical model of disability, and the desire to meet the needs of each disabled child, arguably ensured the establishment of this 'segregated infrastructure' (Oliver and Barnes, 1998, p. 8). However, Halliday (1993) suggests that this educational process did not actually consider the pupils' individual needs or competencies because few attempts were ever made to investigate whether the support given to disabled pupils was adequate, effective, or indeed what they really wanted or needed (Barnes *et al*, 1999; Oliver and Barnes, 1998). Indeed, during this time, the popular perception of many disabled people spanned 'imaginative concern, mawkish sentimentality, rejection and hostility' (Thomas, 1982, p. 4). To have a disability was often regarded as a 'personal tragedy' (Barnes *et al*, 1999, p. 10), a view which united many service providers, policy-makers and the wider society. These perceptions, the education process generally, and a commitment by the government, policy-makers and service providers to the medical model of disability meant that the issue of disability maintained a relatively minor position in the wider

society because disabled people had little power within the figurations of which they were a part. However, the power chances of disabled people soon increased with particular rapidity from the 1960s onwards, due largely to the work undertaken by disability activist groups and the disabled people's movement in Britain – and, indeed, much of Europe – during the 1960s and 1970s.

Wave Two: 1960s-1970s

A feeling of grievance at the weight of social disadvantage in employment and education, amongst other areas, united many disabled people. One outcome of this was a process of political mobilization and social protest (Barnes *et al*, 1999). Through mass demonstrations and the formulation of disability activist groups, disabled people were able to exert their power more effectively than they were able in the past. Previously, disabled people were *more autonomous* of each other than they are today. That is, their chains of interdependence were much shorter and, therefore, their power and influence was limited significantly because, when they did attempt to challenge discriminatory incidents or policies, they usually did so through individual cases of discrimination. Often, they found themselves in power struggles with much more powerful groups such as service providers, policy-makers and the government. In short, many disabled people were involved in power struggles *separately* against much more powerful groups; a factor that limited their power chances. During this time, the government were able to maintain a high degree of control over disabled peoples' lives. However, through the formulation of disability activist groups, the chains of interdependence of some disabled people became longer and much more complex; a process which ultimately resulted in an increase in the power of disabled people, and a correlative decrease in the power of service providers, policy-makers and the government. In turn,

disability activist groups utilized this opportunity to argue that they were 'often subjected to a plethora of disabling attitudes and barriers, from housing to transport, through to employment and education' (Barnes *et al*, 1999, p. 11). It is worth noting, however, that the first groups formulated by disabled people comprised of, and campaigned for, people who had *physical* impairments. Indeed, during this time, one of the main concerns of the disabled people's movement was physical access (for example, to buildings) and this meant that those people with 'other' impairments (for example, cognitive and learning) were largely absent from the campaigns and priorities of the disabled people's movement. In short, within the homogenous group of 'disabled people', it was those with physical impairments who had a greater degree of political power, and they used this power to further their own interests and objectives.

It is important to note that the formulation of the disability activist group the Union of the Physical Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS), in 1974, is considered as playing a major part in the campaign for equal rights for disabled people. Indeed, it was mainly the UPIAS – the first organisation in Britain established and run by disabled people – who spearheaded the campaign for change because they believed that disabled people were in a better position than professionals to challenge the discriminatory attitudes and practices that disabled people face (Leach, 1999; Smith, 2008; Smith and Thomas, 2005; Swain, French and Cameron, 2003; Thomas and Smith, 2009). The UPIAS held firmly to the ethos that the 'right' way forward for disabled people to achieve equal opportunities was through a struggle for the right to full participation in mainstream society, particularly in education and employment (UPIAS, 1976). In endeavouring to achieve this objective, disability representative groups such as the UPIAS became involved in local authority equal opportunity initiatives because 'for the first time there was a perception of a chance of access to power and resources on terms of their own making' (Leach, 1999, p. 89). However, it appears that disabled people achieved little

from their involvement in equal opportunities initiatives in relation to improving physical access, employment opportunities and service improvements because they were unable to gain positions of political influence (for example, as councillors) in an often hostile town hall environment (Leach, 1999). In fact, it is suggested that an unplanned outcome of the involvement of disabled people in equal opportunities initiatives was that their political power actually decreased because councillors and elected officials, who were unwilling to share their power with disabled people, actively endeavoured to constrain the political influence of disabled people.

In 1975, the power chances of disabled people received a boost through international policy developments. The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons in 1975 and, subsequently, 1981 was proclaimed International Year of Disabled Persons (Oliver and Barnes, 1998). Consequently, a year later, the UPIAS made a distinction between the concept of impairment and disability, which were often used interchangeably. The former, which was rooted in the conventional medical model approach, related to an individually based biological condition, while the latter related to the exclusion of disabled people from mainstream society. In this vein, The British Council of Organizations of Disabled People (BCODP) (now the UK's Disabled People's Council) – Britain's national umbrella for organizations controlled and run by disabled people – and the Disabled People's International (DPI) – the international umbrella for organizations such as BCODP – later extended this definition to include *all* physical, sensory and mental impairments (Oliver, 1990). From this, it seems that the aim of this shift in terminology was part of an attempt by disability activists and representative groups to move away from the medical model of disability, towards what is now commonly referred to as a social model of disability. In short, a conceptual transference from the view that it is the individual with the

impairment that has the ‘problem’, towards the view that many of the problems that disabled people encounter are determined by social structures, attitudes and policies (Finkelstein, 2001; Tregaskis, 2004). The social model of disability, however, has since been criticized by some academics for failing to acknowledge the centrality of impairment to disabled people’s lives (Thomas and Smith, 2009). Indeed, a perceived over-emphasis on social explanations perhaps disguises the fact that disability and impairment are experienced differentially as ‘interdependent aspects of disabled people’s lives’ (Thomas and Smith, 2009), which cannot be easily separated into dichotomous categories of medical or social model explanations.

At this stage, it is important to note that when disabled people began to campaign for equal rights, they often drew upon the approaches of other groups (for example, women and black people) who were fighting for political influence and anti-discrimination legislation, because this provided a ready-made approach that had already achieved its legislative objective. Indeed, it seems plausible to suggest the movement for ‘equal opportunities for disabled people’ and subsequently, the UPIAS’s campaign for anti-discrimination legislation, were influenced, in part at least, by the campaigns undertaken by women and black people as part of the human rights movement. Nevertheless, the first steps towards putting anti-discrimination legislation on the parliamentary agenda were taken up by the Committee On Restrictions Against Disabled People (CONRAD). Established in 1979, CONRAD was the outcome of the increasing pressure from disability activist groups on the outgoing Labour Government. The group were charged with the task of examining those social barriers which may discriminate against disabled people by preventing them from making full use of the facilities offered to the general public. CONRAD was then asked to make a series of recommendations on how these barriers could potentially be overcome (Large, 1982). According to Johnstone (2001, p. 107), CONRAD’s report, published in 1982, revealed

‘substantial evidence of prejudice, discrimination and lack of access and rights [for disabled people] in public institutions’. The incoming Conservative Government, however, did not accept the report, possibly because they did not want to act on a report commissioned by their political opponents, or perhaps because their political objectives did not include provision for disabled people. From this, it appears that the change in political opinion and the subsequent installation of the Conservative Government constrained, to some degree, the achievement of anti-discrimination legislation for disabled people, and highlighted the power and influence the government had over policy developments.

There was growing support in society, particularly amongst disability activists groups during the 1970s, for pupils with disabilities to be educated alongside their age-peers in mainstream schools (Smith and Thomas, 2005; Smith, 2008). This view, which soon became a political objective, was part of a strategy formulated by disability representative groups as part of the drive for equal opportunities because they believed that the inclusion of pupils with disabilities into mainstream education would help facilitate their access to, and participation in, social life more generally (Smith and Thomas, 2005). Subsequently, this view was further consolidated by the end of the 1970s by various policy developments, the most significant being the 1978 Warnock Report (DES, 1978), and the associated Education Act of 1981 (DES, 1981). Indeed, in the Education Act of 1981, the British Government explicitly suggested that disabled pupils should be given the opportunity to be educated in mainstream schools as a means of breaking down barriers between disabled and non-disabled people (DES, 1981). In this regard, it is suggested that this educational reform was influenced by the increasing power of the disabled people’s movement, the ‘equalization of opportunities’ rhetoric that had swept European societies as part of the human rights movement, and education developments generally.

Wave Three: 1980s-present

Based largely on the recommendations of the Warnock Report, the medically defined categories of 'handicap' – which had previously dominated education policy – were replaced with the concept of SEN and the process of 'statementing' – a formal process of pinpointing, assessing and supporting a child with SEN – in the 1981 Education Act. According to Smith and Thomas (2005), this conceptualization of SEN replaced the sharp dichotomy between the absolute concepts of disabled and non-disabled. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the traditional categories of handicap applied to two per cent of the school population – many of whom were catered for in special schools – whilst this new, much broader concept of SEN resulted in the identification of as many as 20 per cent of pupils deemed to have special educational needs of one kind or another (DES, 1978).

The establishment of the 1981 Education Act, together with the increasing pressure for pupils with SEN to be educated in mainstream schools on the Conservative Government, by disability activist groups, meant that there began a 'gradual transference'(Smith and Thomas, 2006, p. 223) of pupils from special to mainstream schools, and thus PE, over the next 10 years or so. To put it sociologically, these processes meant that the chains of interdependence of school head teachers, teachers and pupils without SEN, to name a few, lengthened to incorporate pupils with SEN; a process which ultimately resulted in a much denser and more complex school and, subsequently, PE figuration. To a large extent, this transference process involved mainly those pupils who were deemed to have 'less severe' difficulties (for example, physical disabilities) whilst many of those pupils with 'more severe' difficulties (for example, multiple disabilities) tended to remain in the special school sector (Halliday, 1993; Thomas, 2007). Nevertheless, this process illustrates the figurational view that PE teachers

work in a world that is processual insofar as they experience more or less degrees of change (Green, 2002) which, in this instance, included a growing number of pupils with SEN in mainstream schools and, therefore, a potential change in school policy and teacher practice.

Another outcome generated by the Warnock Report, and the ensuing Education Act, was that the issue of disability was brought closer to the foreground of political debate because of the intervention of one of the most powerful groups within the national figuration, namely, the British Government. In this instance, the government's power is expressed by their ability to enforce legislation in order to achieve their objectives. It is important to note, however, that the government's power is never absolute, even in relation to the formulation of policy. That is, their actions are always constrained, as well as enabled, by those groups who have more coercive, persuasive and economic power (for example, international organisations such as the United Nations), and those who have less coercive, persuasive and economic power (for example, disability activist groups). In other words, they receive pressure from 'above' *and* 'below' (Mennell, 1992). For example, it is noteworthy that 1981 was assigned International Year of Disabled Persons by the United Nations General Assembly; a process, amongst others, which may have influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, the production, timing and inclusive content of the 1981 Education Act.

In 1986, the Conservative Government introduced the Disabled Persons (Service, Consultation and Representation) Act – which formally accepted the need to consult disabled people on service provision, and stressed the right of disabled people to have greater responsibility for their own lives (Stationary Office, 1986) – as a way of stamping their own mark on the issue of disability. According to Thomas and Smith (2009), however, this Act

was criticized for being tokenistic because, despite the formally stated objectives of the Act, there was little consultation with disabled people. Notwithstanding these criticisms, however, it is suggested that the Disabled Persons Act of 1986 should be viewed as a move by the Conservative Government towards the 'treatment of disability as a discrete policy issue rather than a mere adjunction to other policies (Oliver, 1990, p. 80; cited in Thomas and Smith, 2009). In short, this policy development meant that the issue of disability was becoming a more prominent feature on the political agenda; a process which would ultimately contribute, to varying degrees, to the production of the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) in 1995.

By the mid-1990s, the pledge towards inclusive education, and the debate surrounding its feasibility, was further intensified by a number of significant developments in national and international policy, the most noteworthy being the introduction of the Salamanca Statement in 1994 (UNESCO, 1994). The Salamanca Statement – devised by the delegates of the World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca, Spain – proposed that *all* national governments enrol *all* children into mainstream school wherever possible. Specifically, the Statement calls upon national governments to 'adopt as a matter of law or policy the principle of inclusive education, enrolling all children in regular [mainstream] schools, unless there are compelling reasons for doing otherwise' (UNESCO, 1994, p. ix). This approach, the delegates of the conference argued, would provide 'the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all' (UNESCO, 1994, p. ix) and thus, bring about a 'genuine equalization of opportunities' (UNESCO, 1994, p. 11) for disabled pupils. To achieve this, the guiding principle focused on providing the same education for all children with additional provision made for those who require it. The British Government made more unambiguous its commitment to developing an inclusive education system by adopting this Statement as a

way of aligning itself to the United Nation's human rights agenda. These policy developments, in particular, show how figurations on an international scale can influence national policies and change.

These educational developments, together with the growing power and influence of the disabled people's movement – particularly the BCODP – helped to bring about the first DDA ever produced in Britain in 1995. The 1995 Act established new rights for disabled people regarding employment, the provision of goods and services, and buying and renting property (Stationary Office, 1995). According to Swain *et al.* (2003, p. 158), the Act provided the most 'comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation in Britain'. Oliver and Barnes (1998, p. 90), however, suggest that 'the Act [DDA] gave only limited protection from direct discrimination... because not all disabled people are covered by the Act and employers and service providers are exempt if they can show that compliance would damage their business'. Education, moreover, *is* included in the Act but only to a very limited extent. A possible limitation of the DDA was the fact that no commission was established to accompany the Act – along the lines of those established in conjunction with the Sex Discrimination Act (Equal Opportunities Commission) and the Race Relations Act (Commission for Racial Equality) – to deal with those cases where the legislation had been breached (Swain *et al*, 2003). The absence of such a commission could point towards a lack of interest by the government in the issue of disability. This was addressed, however, after mounting pressure from disability activist groups, when the Disability Rights Commission (DRC) – an independent body which comprised 15 Commissioners, two-thirds of whom were disabled (Thomas and Smith, 2009) – was established five years after the DDA in 2000, as part of the Disability Rights Commission Act (Stationary Office, 1999). Notwithstanding these criticisms, the 1995 DDA should be viewed as a significant development in the context of the long-term campaign by

disabled people to increase their power chances and achieve 'equal opportunities', because the Act represented an 'acknowledgement that disability is on the mainstream political agenda, and a public recognition that disability may be socially created, and not just a personal tragedy' (Walmsley, 1997, p. 64).

One outcome of the work undertaken by the DRC and disability activist groups was that two changes were made to the 1995 DDA. First, the DRC issued a new Code of Practice which covers rights to facilities, services and premises, by providing additional detail on how providers can meet the requirements of the Act. Second, from 2002, the education authorities and their establishments – who had originally been omitted from the requirements of the 1995 Act – were required to ensure that disabled people are not discriminated against in educational services (Thomas and Smith, 2009). In addition, in 2001 the *Special Educational Needs and Disability Act* (SENDA) (Stationary Office, 2001) progressed the government's apparent commitment to an inclusive educational infrastructure by providing the legal right and entitlement to all pupils with SEN to a mainstream education if they required it. In other words, mainstream schools were no longer able to refuse a pupil with SEN on the basis that they cannot meet their needs, and this meant the issue of disability was gaining more recognition, particularly through government policy intervention.

In light of apparent inadequacies of the original Act of 1995, an extended DDA was passed in 2005 which, amongst other things, places greater emphasis on the responsibilities of public bodies (for example, local authorities) to promote equal opportunities for disabled people (Stationary Office, 2005). Following the passage of the DDA 2005, the government decided that the DRC and five other equity-related commissions (for example, the Equal

Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality) would be replaced by a single body called the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). This approach, it was argued, would help to tackle multiple levels of discrimination (Roche, 2002; cited in Thomas and Smith, 2009); that is, it would benefit those people who may face more than one type of discrimination. It is suggested, however, that a potential unplanned outcome of this approach is that issues of disability discrimination may become marginalized in regard to the priorities of the EHRC because the EHRC is constrained to divide its time and resources to tackle many forms of discrimination. In fact, in 2007 – the same year the EHRC was established – the Office for Disability Issues (ODI) was set up to ensure that disability is of central importance to the work of the EHRC (ODI, 2008).

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to examine the emergence of disability as an issue in the wider society and, subsequently, in secondary school education, as it occurred in three main 'waves': the 1940s -1950s, 1960s-1970s, and from the 1980s to the present. In doing so, it was highlighted how the power chances of some disabled people in society increased with particular rapidity from the 1960s onwards, with the disabled people's movement playing a key role in this process. Of central importance to the increasing power chances of disabled people was a conceptual shift and, to varying degrees, a shift in practice by policy-makers and the wider society from the medical to the social model of disability. That is, policy-makers and the wider society gradually began to accept the view that it was the actions of certain groups in the wider society, such as service providers and policy-makers, which 'disabled' people and not their impairments. Through this medium, the disabled people's movement campaigned to try to ensure that disabled people gained access to the same

working and educational opportunities as everyone else in the wider society. In this regard, it was suggested, at the time, that the inclusion of disabled pupils into mainstream education would facilitate their access to, and participation in, social life more generally. The 1978 Warnock Report, the 1981 Education Act, and the 1994 Salamanca Statement further consolidated this view and stimulated, in part, a gradual transference of pupils from special to mainstream schools as a way of providing equal opportunities. It is within this context that the next chapter will now turn to examine the formulation of the NCPE in 1992.

Chapter Three:

The Formulation of the National Curriculum Physical Education

Introduction

This chapter aims to examine, sociologically, the formulation of the NCPE in 1992 and its subsequent revisions in 1995 and 2000. Specifically, the chapter examines the formally stated objectives of each NCPE document and their accompanying consultation materials that relate to pupils with SEN. Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) are then used to try to help illuminate the interdependency ties and power balances between all the major players involved in the formulation of these documents, in order to examine how the actions of each player both enabled and constrained the subsequent actions of each other. Adopting this approach, it is suggested, may help identify the extent to which the objectives of each player involved in the formulation of the NCPE documents impacted upon their overall objectives and content. Additionally, the chapter will also note the omission of any inclusion objectives because these can be equally as important, if not more important, than the objectives included, because they can show how some players (such as policy-makers) can use their greater power chances to exclude the views and opinions of less powerful players (such as PE teachers). Finally, the chapter will examine the NCPE documents to discover if there are any other political objectives that the policy-makers and government prioritized. This approach is adopted to determine whether the government's policy objectives are compatible because, if the NCPE documents contain other political objectives that are not compatible with their

inclusion objectives, this could, potentially, constrain the extent to which the government achieves the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE (Murphy and Waddington, 1998).

The Education Reform Act, the Working Group and the NCPE 1992

The Education Reform Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1988 in response to a supposed 'crisis' in education which was said to be experienced in the perceived decline in standards in many state schools (Penney and Evans, 1999). According to Davies, Holland and Minahas (1990), the Conservative Government addressed, and endeavoured to ameliorate, this perceived crisis because of the potential they believed educational reform would have to win electoral votes. More importantly, however, was the introduction of the National Curriculum which followed the Act, comprising of 'core' and 'foundation' subjects to be taught to all pupils aged 5-16 in all state schools. In this regard, it is noteworthy that PE was identified as a 'foundation' subject and was, therefore, not afforded the status of a priority subject; a process which may have decreased the power chances of PE teachers in their school figuration when compared with the teachers of core subjects. PE was, however, identified (as we shall soon see) as a vehicle for achieving the government's wider sporting objectives, which focused on elite sports performance. Nevertheless, the formulation of the NCPE was viewed by many teachers and policy-makers as a move towards greater standardization in relation to the experiences that all pupils, in all subjects, in all state schools would enjoy (Penney and Evans, 1999). The Act served, moreover, as an announcement that there would be a more direct intervention from the British Government in the provision of education than there had been in the past. Indeed, a planned outcome of the 1988 Education Act was that the National Curriculum enabled the government to have greater control over

the school experiences of pupils, and the work of teachers. Previously, teachers and head teachers had greater influence over curriculum organization, content and delivery in their schools (Penney and Evans, 1999) and, therefore, more power within the educational figuration of which they were part.

The Education Reform Act enabled the Secretary of State for Education and Science in England (Kenneth Clarke) and the Secretary of State for Wales (David Hunt) to develop attainment targets for each subject; that is, 'the knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage' (DES/WO, 1991a, p. i), and Programmes of Study, defined as 'the matters, skills and processes which are required to be taught to pupils of different abilities and maturities during each key stage' (DES/WO, 1991a, p. i). In endeavouring to develop these attainment targets and Programmes of Study, Working Groups were established for each subject by the Secretaries of State to advise them on structure and content. At first, it may appear that the Secretaries of State enabled the PE Working Group to determine what the attainment targets and Programme of Study would consist of. The actions of the Working Group, however, were, in practice, constrained considerably by the Secretaries of State. It was the Secretaries, for example, who detailed the format for the Working Group's recommendations, the approach they should adopt, the groups they should consult, and the time scale within which they were expected to complete their consultation and recommendations. The Secretaries, moreover, could choose whether to accept or reject the Working Group's proposals (Penney and Evans, 1999) if they did not facilitate their own objectives because, ultimately, the Secretaries had far greater power chances within the NCPE formulation process because of their political position. From this, it appears that, although the Working Group was given the opportunity, to varying degrees, to decide the structure and content of the NCPE, their

recommendations were constrained to incorporate, as we shall see, the educational and sporting objectives of the Secretaries of State, and the British Government.

The PE Working Group included, amongst others, Margaret Talbot (Head of Carnegie Physical Education Department at Leeds Polytechnic), Elizabeth Murdoch (Head of Chelsea School of Human Movement), Ann Harris (a primary school head teacher), and Susan Jackson and Michael Thornton (two deputy head teachers) (DES/WO, 1991b). It did not include, however, representatives from the group charged with implementing the new curriculum, namely, PE teachers because, ultimately, teachers were one of the least powerful players at the time when it came to formulating PE policy. In addition, the Working Group did not include those PE teachers who had experience teaching pupils with SEN and nor, for that matter, did it include 'inclusion experts' (such as special school teachers) or representatives from disability sport organizations (such as the British Paralympic Association [BPA]). From this, it seems that the inclusion of pupils with SEN in the 1992 NCPE was not a 'priority issue' of the British Government because they did not include, in the Working Group, representatives from those groups who may have provided a valuable insight into this area. When examining the other members of the Working Group, however, it appears that sport and, more particularly, elite performance in sport was an issue that the Secretaries did prioritize. The appointment of Ian Beer (Headmaster of Harrow School), for example, from a school tradition well-known for its emphasis on sport, and the appointment of two professional athletes (John Fashanu and Steve Ovett) could be seen as a move by government to reinforce the view that the 1992 NCPE should be synonymous with elite sports performance (Penney and Evans, 1999).

The Working Group's Interim Report recommended that there should be three attainment targets to be called: planning and composing, participating and performing, and appreciating and evaluating (DES/WO, 1991b). The second target, 'participating and performing', was considered by the Group as the most important element of attainment in PE (DES/WO, 1991b), and was perhaps an attempt by the Working Group to ensure that their recommendations facilitated the government's sporting objectives, whilst endeavouring to ensure that all pupils were able to participate in the new PE curriculum. The Interim Report recommended, moreover, that the Programme of Study should include six activity areas: athletics, dance, games, gymnastics, outdoor and adventurous activities, and swimming. In this regard, the Working Group suggested that all pupils should receive a broad and balanced PE programme 'which is differentiated to meet their needs' (DES/WO, 1991a, p. 5). They added, moreover, that there should *not* be 'barriers to access... [and] consideration should be given to those with special educational needs' (DES/WO, 1991a, p. 5). From this, it is clear that the Working Group's expectation for PE was to provide *all* pupils with a PE curriculum that could meet their particular learning requirements. However, pupils with SEN were not the central focus of this policy; rather, along with elite sports performance, the concept of providing all pupils with 'equal opportunities' dominated the expectations of the Working Group. Indeed, both the Interim Report and the Final Report contained a section dedicated to equal opportunities, which was considered as a process of 'treating all children as individuals with their own abilities, difficulties and attitudes' (DES/WO, 1991b, p. 16). In short, it was based on a child-centred approach where 'children are more important than the activity they are engaged' in (DES/WO, 1991b, p. 16). The emphasis placed on the concept of equal opportunities in the Interim and Final Report, however, is perhaps unsurprising when considered against the background of an education system that has been heavily influenced

by the equal opportunities movement that swept across much of Europe during the 1970s and 1980s.

The Working Group's rationale for PE focused on the child and their physical, mental and social development (DES/WO, 1991b); a view that was distinct from the perception of PE as being about performance in sport and team games. The inclusion, however, of an attainment target which focused on participating *and* performing – as the most important in PE – may point towards internal power struggles between the 'educationalists' and the professional athletes of the PE Working Group. It may also point towards the constraint placed upon the Group to develop a NCPE that would facilitate the government's PE and sport agenda. That is, the inclusion of educational, child-centred, rhetoric in the Interim Report is an example of the educationalists trying to prioritize their objectives within the Working Group figuration. Indeed, this process is unsurprising considering the Working Group was established to develop a curriculum in which the educationalists were the experts. However, the professional athletes were also able to ensure that their sporting interests were included and, perhaps more importantly, prioritized in the Interim Report because their views of what the NCPE should entail were more compatible with the government's objectives which, as noted above, focused mainly on elite sports performance. In other words, the centrality of participation *and* performance as the main focus of the new PE curriculum was largely the outcome of a power struggle between the divergent objectives of the professional athletes and the educationalists in which the Secretaries of State – using their greater political power chances – enabled the professional athletes to ensure that their sporting objectives were prioritized.

The greater power chances of the Secretaries – in relation to the formulation of policy – were further illustrated in their response to the Interim Report. In a letter to Ian Beer responding to the Interim Report, Ken Clarke questioned the feasibility of three separate attainment targets in PE, and asked the Working Group to 'reconsider the structure with a view to there being a single attainment target for physical education which reflects the *practical* nature of the subject' (Clarke, 1991, p. 88 emphasis added). Notwithstanding concerns that a single target would focus entirely on performance in PE, the Working Group's response was to encompass all three of the original targets into a single attainment target, or, 'End of Key Stage Statement' for each of the four Key Stages in their Final Report. In short, the Secretaries of State used their coercive power to ensure that the Working Group's final proposals were compatible with the government's sporting agenda. It is worth noting that the adoption of a single target was in spite of the fact that 'only a hand full [of those consulted] supported a notion of a single target' (DES/WO, 1991a, p. 17). Many PE teachers, amongst others, expressed the view that a single target based solely on performance would 'further disadvantage [some] pupils with special educational needs' (DES/WO, 1991a, p. 17) because of their ostensibly inferior physical ability. Ken Clarke also told the Working Group that the Programme of Study they offered in the Interim Report was too detailed and rigid, and called for a more flexible, non-prescriptive framework for PE (Clarke, 1991). The Working Group obliged by developing a more flexible curriculum in their Final Report because, ultimately, they had little choice. Failure to succumb to the government's interest would likely have resulted in the disbandment of the Group, and the replacement by a group who were more willing to facilitate the government's agenda of elite sports performance (Talbot, 1993). In short, the Secretaries of State had used their more powerful political position to constrain the Working Group's ability to resist or reject their interests in the 1992 NCPE. Once the report was submitted, any additional changes were out of the hands of the PE Working Group. The

next step was for the National Curriculum Council (NCC) – a quango (quasi autonomous non-governmental organization) established to oversee the development and implementation of the National Curriculum – and the Curriculum Council for Wales (CCW) to consult on the Working Group's Final Report, and then forward their report to the Secretaries of State.

The NCC endorsed many of the proposals made by the PE Working Group (NCC, 1991). The NCC Consultation Report was, however, different in some respects to the Working Group's Final Report. Greater stress, for example, was placed upon games in PE. The NCC recommended that 'pupils should experience a minimum of four of the five activities [set out in the Programme of Study] by the end of key stage 3, *games being the only compulsory activity*' (NCC, 1991, p. 14 emphasis added). This recommendation further raised the profile and status of games beyond that afforded in the Working Group's Final Report, most likely because the objectives of the NCC – a group which, it is worth noting, comprised of individuals appointed by the Secretaries of State – were more compatible with the government's preferred view that PE was about elite sports performance. In their report, the NCC also suggested that they had taken into account the need to facilitate access to the Programme of Study for pupils with SEN. The outcome was that the end of Key Stage Statements and the Programme of Study were 'written in such a way as to make the programme of study accessible to as many pupils as possible... with every effort being made to facilitate access for pupils with SEN' (NCC, 1991, p. 11). In other words, the NCC believed that the Programme of Study was flexible enough to include *most* pupils, with schools and PE departments charged with the task of providing provision for those pupils (such as some pupils with SEN) who find it difficult to 'fit in' to the curriculum as it is planned for the majority of pupils. From this 'integration' process, it seems that pupils with

SEN were not the main focus of attention for the Secretaries of State or the NCC; instead, the development of elite sports performance was their main objective.

Upon receipt of the NCC Consultation Report, government ministers produced Draft Orders for the NCPE, and these were finalized by the Secretaries of State and submitted to parliament. Subsequently, the NCPE was introduced in 1992 and was aimed, rhetorically at least, at establishing a 'broad and balanced curriculum as a statutory entitlement for *all pupils* in all state schools in England and Wales' (Smith, 2004, p. 41 emphasis added). The NCPE, however, could not be introduced in the same way in all schools because some schools lacked the necessary resources such as staff and facilities; an issue that had constrained the Working Group in their recommendations and, perhaps, would constrain the extent to which teachers could fully include pupils with SEN. The government charged schools with the task of developing a policy for SEN with PE being 'an integral part of the provision' (DES, 1992, E 1.5). The special emphasis on PE was possibly an outcome of the admission by the Working Group that teachers would experience particular difficulty 'fully integrating children with SEN into all aspects of a physical education program' (DES/WO 1991a, p. 36). The government also highlighted the importance of concentrating on 'pupils' abilities and needs, not their disabilities' (DES, 1992, E 1.4). The aim of this emphasis was to 'help change feelings of disaffection, under-achievement and low self-esteem' in pupils with SEN (DES, 1992, E 1.4). In endeavouring to ensure that all pupils with SEN were fully 'integrated' into mainstream PE lessons, the NCPE focused largely on modifying activities and providing resources such as equipment to meet their needs. It set out very basic ideas on how PE teachers could adapt activities to include pupils with SEN. These guidelines, however, cover only very basic skills such as throwing and catching, appropriate perhaps for Key Stage 1 and 2 but less so for Key Stages 3 and 4 where more complex skills are required because of the

emphasis on elite sports performance, competition and winning. From the guidelines set out in the 1992 NCPE, then, it appears that the needs of pupils with SEN were not really taken seriously by the government. Instead, the government used their greater power chances in the policy formulation process to further their view that PE should focus on elite performance in competitive sport and team games.

From the above analysis, it appears that the formulation of the NCPE in 1992 was underpinned, rhetorically at least, by the concept of equal opportunities and the prioritization of elite sports performance. However, just one year later, in 1993 – with the implementation of the newly formed NCPE in its early stages –the British Government announced that a revision of the National Curriculum was to be undertaken. Therefore, it is to an examination of the 1995 NCPE that the next section of the chapter will now turn.

The Dearing Interim and Final Reports, and the NCPE 1995

A revised version of the National Curriculum was established because many schools and policy-makers thought that the components of the National Curriculum did not comprise a manageable whole (Penney and Evans, 1999); that is, as more and more subjects ‘came on line’ (Penney and Evans, 1999, p. 63) many schools found it difficult to meet the requirements of each subject within the time allocated. A reduction in content was said to be required for all subjects (Dearing, 1993a). Amongst other benefits, it was suggested that a slimmer statutory prescribed curriculum ‘would go a long way towards giving teachers the scope necessary to provide pupils [including those with SEN] with a meaningful entitlement to a broad, balanced and relevant curriculum’ (Dearing, 1993b, p. 53). From these comments,

it appears that teachers had at least some power in the formulation of the 1995 NCPE insofar as the government had to consider the actions of these players when formulating policy. The government appointed Sir Ron Dearing as the chair of the newly established School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) – an amalgamation of the NCC and the School Examinations and Assessment Council (SEAC) – to review the National Curriculum, and to present recommendations for the revision. A letter to Dearing, from the then Secretary of State for England John Patten, highlights the degree of constraint the government wanted to place on the revision process. He stated 'I expect you... to ensure that you hear, and take into account, the views of serving teachers who have experience implementing the National Curriculum and its assessment arrangements' (Patten, 1993, p. 64). In response, Dearing established Working Groups for each subject that gave greater representation to teachers (Dearing, 1993b) because, ultimately, his ability to resist Patten was constrained because he had far less political power. The inclusion of teachers in the Working Groups, Dearing suggested, would help 'to ensure that the work [of the Working Group] takes account of the fact that schools must be able to plan suitable differentiated work for all pupils' (Dearing, 1993b, p. 54). From this, it appears that the issue of including pupils with SEN in mainstream schools had gained a more prominent position in the education priorities of the British Government. Indeed, these educational developments were most likely influenced, in part, by wider processes such as the development, and the British Government's subsequent adoption, of the Salamanca Statement less than a year earlier, which called on all governments to provide all pupils with a mainstream education (UNECSO, 1994).

The PE Working Group included, amongst others, eight school representatives comprised of primary and secondary school PE teachers and head teachers (Penney and Evans, 1999). Once again, however, the Working Group did not include disability specialist such as special

school teachers, or those from disability sport groups; a point which highlights the limited power these players have in relation the formulation of PE policy. The notable absence of disability specialists may also raise doubts regarding the extent to which the government were committed to the inclusion of pupils with SEN in the 1995 NCPE. Conversely, however, it may at first appear that the power chances of PE teachers in the NCPE policy process increased significantly because of their involvement in the Working Group. Indeed, there was a *relative* increase, especially when compared to the formulation of the previous NCPE. That is, the inclusion of teachers in the 1995 NCPE consultation and formulation processes allowed them to present their views and experiences of the NCPE, particularly in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN, because, by now, many PE teachers had experience teaching pupils with SEN. It must be noted, however, that the actions of the PE Working Group were again constrained, in some respects, by the government. The following excerpt, for example, may instil doubt regarding the extent to which the government were prepared to recognize the views and opinions of teachers, and change their practice in relation to the content of the 1995 NCPE. It reads: 'the task ahead [for the Working Groups] is to identify a slimmed down statutory content for each subject...*it will not involve the introduction of new material*' (Dearing, 1993a, p. 35 emphasis added). In other words, the Working Group had the power to 'slim down' the content of the NCPE (a process which was also constrained by the government, as we shall soon see); they did not, however, have the power to change any of the content. This constraint was, perhaps, placed upon the Working Group to prevent the introduction of material that was not compatible with the government's still prevalent view of PE, which focused on elite sports performance.

In endeavouring to reduce the content of the NCPE, it was decided that each activity area – except games – would be split into 'half units' (SCAA, 1994). From this, it seems that the

prominence of games was ‘non-negotiable’ (Penney and Evans, 1999, p. 65), largely because Dearing was constrained, by the government, to produce recommendations that were compatible with their prevailing agenda on elite performance in competitive sport and team games. In response to the 1995 NCPE Draft Proposals, John Patten revealed ‘I am particularly pleased to see the emphasis given to competitive games in Key Stages 1-3... [And] your recommendation that games should be made a requirement at Key Stage 4’ (Patten, 1994, p. i). These comments were made despite earlier concerns expressed by the 1992 Working Group that competitive sports and team games were activities in which PE teachers would ‘especially experience difficulty fully integrating children with SEN’ (DES/WO, 1991a, p. 36). Notwithstanding the prevalence of equal opportunities rhetoric in both Dearing’s Interim and Final Report, then, the prominent position of games was increased, rather than challenged, because they were part of the government’s wider agenda on elite sports performance. Again, this prioritization raises questions regarding the extent to which Dearing and the government were committed to the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE. Indeed, it appears that the government’s inclusion objectives were marginalized by their elite sports performance objectives. In this regard, it is worth noting that the NCPE 1995 emerged, in part at least, out of a wider government policy on sport called *Sport: Raising the Game* (DNH, 1995) wherein PE is identified as a potential avenue for the development of future athletes (DNH, 1995). This is a prime example of how wider policies on sport have interwoven and become more interdependent with PE policy insofar as they have influenced, to varying degrees, the content of the NCPE.

Before writing the Interim Report, the Working Group consulted a number of teachers regarding any issues they had faced when seeking to include pupils with SEN in PE. Amongst a variety of responses, the main theme to emerge was that many teachers suggested

that some pupils with SEN were working on Programmes of Study that were set, by law, for their age but which were often unsuitable for their ability (Dearing, 1993a). To combat this concern, the Interim Report suggested moving to a grouping system which is based entirely on attainment rather than age, to ensure that the most and least able pupils were not studying material that is above or below their abilities (Dearing, 1993a). Subsequently, Dearing's Final Report suggested that the National Curriculum levels should be broadened to include level 1 at Key Stage 2, and level 1 and 2 at Key Stage 3 to ensure that teachers can provide work in line with their pupils' abilities and needs, particularly those with SEN (Dearing, 1993b). In the Final Orders, attainment targets were set in the form of 'End of Key Stage Descriptions', and these related to the type and range of 'performance' that 'the majority' of pupils should be able to demonstrate by the end of each key stage (DfE, 1995, p. 11). In relation to pupils with SEN, it was suggested that these descriptions were flexible enough to allow for provision to be made, such as the selection of material from earlier or later key stages, where this is necessary to enable these pupils to progress and demonstrate their achievement (DfE, 1995). In other words, pupils with SEN were expected to 'fit in' to the arrangements made for the majority of pupils because direct provision was not made for them; a point that illuminates the limited power of pupils with SEN within the school figuration. To recapitulate, a more flexible Programme of Study and the inclusion of End of Key Stage Descriptions meant that, according the government, PE teachers would now be able to lay on provision in the Programme of Study and in the assessment of pupils with SEN 'in ways which they judged to be relevant' (Dearing, 1993b, p. 53); in short, with little guidance. This was a process that the government believed would ultimately ensure that all pupils with SEN would be included, and able to achieve, in PE.

In summary, the inherent flexibility of the requirements presented in the 1995 NCPE meant that PE teachers could now determine, to varying degrees, the extent to which pupils with SEN were included. In this vein, a flexible programme also enabled PE teachers to plan and deliver lessons that facilitated their own objectives and ideological beliefs. Nevertheless, because of the sheer complexity of a PE teacher's figuration, the achievement of their own objectives was both constrained and enabled by the actions of other players in the NCPE implementation figuration. The implications of a flexible curriculum and the involvement of other players in the NCPE implementation figuration will be examined in Chapter 4. In the next section, however, this chapter will examine the third revision of the NCPE which occurred in 1999.

Secretary of State's Proposals, QCA Consultation and the NCPE 2000

In 1997 there was a change in political opinion which manifested in a land-slide victory for the Labour Party. The third revision of the National Curriculum, therefore, was stimulated, in part, by the arrival of the Labour Government who wanted to stamp their own mark on an education system which was at the heart of their political agenda (Houlihan and Green, 2006). In April 1998 the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) – an amalgamation of the SCAA and the National Council for Vocational Qualification (NCVQ) – outlined its preliminary recommendations on a forthcoming review of the National Curriculum, based on the findings from a four-year monitoring and research programme (QCA, 1999). David Blunkett, the then Secretary of State for Education and Employment, asked the QCA to develop this work further and report back to him in May 1999 with detailed advice on a revision for the National Curriculum.

On 13 of May 1999 David Blunkett, having received the QCA's advice, published his proposals from the review of the National Curriculum in England. Along with these proposals, the Secretary of State set out his vision for the National Curriculum in *Achieving Excellence in the National Curriculum* (Blunkett, 1999a). In other words, the Secretary of State consulted the QCA on the National Curriculum revision but, ultimately, he, and his advisors, set out their own vision – and therefore the government's vision – of the content and priorities of the new National Curriculum. In short, he used his political position and greater power chances to further his own, and the government's, objectives. The key objectives' of the proposals were to raise standards in education – an objective that was central to Labour's 1997 election campaign – whilst ensuring that all pupils fulfil their potential, particularly those with SEN (Blunkett, 1999a). In endeavouring to achieve these objectives, the Secretary of State proposed a less prescriptive and more flexible curriculum, and the introduction, for the first time, of a 'detailed, overarching statement on inclusion which makes clear the principles schools must follow in their teaching... to ensure that all pupils have the chance to succeed' (DfEE/QCA, 1999b, p. 3). In this regard, it must be noted that the introduction of this statement was most likely influenced by broader policy developments occurring within the wider figuration. For example, the 1994 Salamanca Statement – to which the government pledged its commitment in the Green Paper *Excellence for All Children: Meeting Special Educational Needs* (DfEE, 1997) – and the 1995 Disability Discrimination Act placed added pressure on the government, policy-makers and educationalists to provide all pupils with SEN with a mainstream education. Indeed, much more of the NCPE 2000 and its associated consultation materials focused on providing a more equitable curriculum – especially for those pupils with SEN – than did the 1992 and 1995 NCPE. This is a prime example of how figurations and policy developments on an

international level are interdependent, and can influence policy direction and change on a national level.

The Secretary of State charged the QCA with the task of consulting with schools and other interested parties from 13 May until 23 July (Blunkett, 1999a). That is, the QCA were asked to consult groups – which were largely decided by the Secretary of State – such as schools and other interest groups, for example, OFSTED, Local Education Authorities (LEAs), universities and sports organizations (such as Sport England) in England, on the curriculum content, within a non-flexible time frame demarcated by the Secretary of State. What the QCA could do, however, was make recommendations, following the consultation, on the proposals. Ultimately, however, the Secretary of State had the power to reject any of these recommendations if they did not support the government's PE objectives which now encompassed elite sports performance *and*, albeit to a lesser extent, provision for the inclusion of pupils with SEN. In short, the Secretary of State enabled the QCA to participate in the revision process but used his greater power chances in relation to the formulation of policy, to constrain the extent to which his proposals could be challenged.

The QCA published, and then sent out for consultation, a booklet summarizing the Secretary of State's proposals. Here, the onus was on schools and interest groups to contact the QCA with any issues they felt arose from the proposals. Questionnaires were also sent to a sample of 10 per cent of secondary schools and interested parties (DfEE/QCA, 1999a). The QCA appointed MORI – a non-governmental research agency – to examine the responses to the consultation, and manage focus group meetings that had also been set up as part of the consultation process (QCA, 1999). MORI organized and moderated a succession of fourteen

focus groups with teachers, school governors and parents, with the aim of examining the potential implications of David Blunkett's proposals (QCA, 1999). In this regard, it is noteworthy that some of those consulted by questionnaire and interview were SENCOs and teachers who had experience seeking to include pupils with SEN in mainstream PE; a process that may have added an interesting insight into the potential implications of the proposals for SENCOs, PE teachers and pupils with SEN. However, out of all those groups involved in the consultation process – 3,180 responses were received (QCA, 1999) – none were from disability sport representative groups such as the English Federation of Disability Sport (EFDS) or the BPA. Once again, the notable absence of disability sport representative groups highlights the limited power these players have in relation to PE policy, and may again raise questions regarding the extent to which the government were committed to the inclusion of pupils with SEN in PE. Notwithstanding the absence of these groups, it must again be noted that the issue of SEN had gained a more prominent position on the education agenda. As noted above, this was, at least, partly because of the intervention of even more powerful players than the British Government in the educational policy figuration, for example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) through their Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994).

The next stage of the National Curriculum revision process was for the QCA to consider the responses received from the consultation process and then report to the Secretary of State with their findings and recommendations. In this report, the findings from the consultation suggested, amongst other things, support for a general inclusion statement, however, a 'large majority' suggested that 'it would be [more] helpful to have individual subject statements' of inclusion (QCA, 1999, annex 1, p. 5) to ensure that teachers were able to tackle the subject-specific issues they face when teaching pupils with SEN. In the focus groups, moreover,

some SENCOs were ‘disappointed that the revised curriculum does not recognise the limitations of pupils with SEN’ (QCA, 1999, annex 1, p. 14). Indeed, some SENCOs and, for that matter, PE teachers, felt that some pupils were being led towards unachievable targets. In endeavouring to ensure that all pupils with SEN would have realistic targets of achievement to work towards, the QCA’s report set out a flexible, nine-stage plan that was referred to as ‘Level Descriptions’. These Level Descriptions were subsequently accepted by the Secretary of State and included in the NCPE 2000. To elucidate, the Level Descriptions describe the ‘types and range of performance that pupils working at a particular level should characteristically demonstrate. In deciding on a pupil’s level of attainment at the end of a key stage, teachers should judge which description best fits the pupil’s performance’ (DfEE/QCA, 1999c, p.181). For example, by the end of Key Stage 3, the performance of the *majority* of pupils should be within the range of levels 3 to 7 (DfEE/QCA, 1999c). This flexible, subject-specific scale, the Secretary of State suggested, would give teachers something to assess those pupils with SEN who are unable to perform at the level expected for their age-group (DfEE/QCA, 1999c). Here, it appears that the success of a PE lesson is determined by the level of performance achieved. Nevertheless, the development of these Level Descriptions is a prime example of how the actions of SENCOs and teachers – two players with ostensibly little political power – can constrain the QCA – a player with far greater political power – to change the NCPE’s assessment arrangements.

The final stage of the formulation process was for the Secretary of State to ‘consider’ (Blunkett, 1999a, p. vi) the QCA’s report, and announce his final decisions on the new curriculum at the beginning of September 1999. Subsequently, Blunkett revealed that, for the most part, he believed that the recommendations made by the QCA ‘strike the right balance’ and he was, therefore, ‘happy to accept them all’ (Blunkett, 1999b, p. 1). The outcome was

the release of the National Curriculum in 2000. The Secretary of State – in his foreword to the NCPE 2000 – made clear his commitment to a more equitable curriculum by stating: 'equal opportunities is one of a broad set of common values and purposes which underpin the school curriculum and the work in schools' (DfEE/QCA, 1999b, p. 3). This commitment was further consolidated by the introduction, for the first time, of the statutory inclusion statement which aimed to provide effective learning opportunities for *all* pupils by outlining 'how teachers can modify, as necessary, the National Curriculum programmes of study to provide all pupils with relevant and appropriately challenging work at each key stage' (DfEE/QCA, 1999b, p. 28). In this regard, it is noteworthy that the NCPE 2000 contains a generic statutory inclusion statement. This was included despite many of those consulted suggesting, and the QCA recommending, that a subject-specific inclusion statement would be more beneficial. Again, this approach was most probably adopted because PE was not a core subject and, therefore, the inclusion of pupils with SEN *in PE* was not a priority objective of the British Government. This could also point towards the limited power chances that the PE Working Group had when compared to core subject Working Groups. Nevertheless, the inclusion of a generic statutory inclusion statement in the NCPE 2000 is a prime example of the Secretary of State using his greater power chances to reject the views of those consulted, and the recommendations made by the QCA, to further his, and the government's, own interests.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to examine the formulation of the NCPE in 1992, and its subsequent revisions in 1995 and 2000. From this examination, it has been highlighted how the government constrained, to a significant degree, the power of the PE Working Groups by setting the format for the Working Groups' recommendations, the groups they should consult,

and the time scale within which they were expected to complete their consultation and recommendations. In addition, the greater political power of the government enabled them to reject any of the Working Groups' recommendations, and even disband the Groups if they felt the Working Groups' actions would jeopardize the achievement of their educational and sporting objectives. Subsequently, the Working Groups modified their recommendations to facilitate the government's PE objectives which focused largely on elite sports performance and, to a greater degree in the NCPE 2000, the inclusion of pupils with SEN because, ultimately, they had little choice. That is, because the power chances of the government in relation to the formulation of policy were far greater than that of the Working Groups, the government could constrain, to varying degrees, the ability of the Working Groups to reject their interests and objectives.

To ensure that all pupils with SEN were included in mainstream PE, the government recommended that a flexible PE curriculum be introduced, with PE teachers charged with the task of adapting this curriculum to ensuring that all pupils with SEN were fully include in each lesson. In short, although the government heavily constrained the extent to which their objectives and ideological beliefs could be challenged, their actions gave PE teachers the power to determine the extent to which pupils with SEN would be included in mainstream PE. The next chapter will now examine the outcomes associated with the implementation of a NCPE which aims to include all pupils with SEN within a curriculum that prioritizes elite sports performance, skill and competition.

Chapter Four:

The Implementation of the National Curriculum Physical Education 2000

Introduction

From the analysis provided in the previous chapter, it appears that the formulation of the NCPE 2000 was intended to provide, amongst other things, more equitable and positive experiences of PE for pupils with SEN, within a curriculum that prioritizes elite sports performance, skill and competition above an individualistic approach, which focuses on the needs and capabilities of the individual. One question that arises in this regard, is the extent to which the NCPE 2000 has achieved its formally stated objective of the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE? To answer this question, the chapter will provide a sociological examination of the implementation of the NCPE 2000. In particular, the players involved in the implementation process will be identified and Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) will be used to try to examine the extent to which the objectives of these players generated outcomes which none of the players involved in the formulation of the NCPE 2000 planned for, or could have foreseen. Unplanned outcomes are identified by comparing the intended objectives of the NCPE 2000 with the actual outcomes associated with its implementation, as identified by the findings of existing research. Specifically, government reports which focus on the participation rates of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE lessons, and peer-reviewed journal articles which focus on the views and experiences of PE from the perspective of

pupils with SEN and PE teachers who have experience teaching pupils with SEN in PE, will be compared to the intended objectives of the NCPE 2000.

PE Teachers' Views on Integration and Inclusion

To clarify, the term 'integration' is viewed, in theory at least, an assimilation process whereby pupils with SEN are expected to 'fit in' to the existing arrangements of a PE lesson (for example) that has been planned for the majority of pupils (Barton, 1993; Fredrickson and Cline, 2002; Smith, 2004). Conversely, however, what is understood by the process of 'inclusion' has generated much debate amongst academics and policy-makers because of the many diverse and contrasting conceptualizations (Smith and Thomas, 2005). Nevertheless, a lasting feature of recent national and international policy is that inclusion is 'the development of policies that seek to bring about a genuine equalization of opportunity' (UNESCO, 1994, p. 11). However, the findings of several studies conducted in Britain suggest that whilst there is a basic commitment, in rhetoric at least, by many PE teachers to the *inclusion* of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE, in practice, the experiences of PE shared by pupils with and without SEN often appear to be unequal. In particular, some pupils with SEN are spending less time in PE lessons, and often participate in a narrower PE curriculum when compared to their age-peers (see, for example, Fitzgerald, 2005; Fitzgerald, Jobling and Kirk, 2003a, 2003b; Morely, Bailey, Tan and Cooke, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004). In endeavouring to explain this disparity of opportunity, Smith (2004, p. 45) suggests that many of the PE teachers interviewed in his study claimed to use their power chances in relation to their ability to adapt the PE curriculum, to provide 'as much opportunity as possible' as a way of fulfilling their legal obligation to include pupils with SEN in their lessons. This commitment to providing 'equal opportunities' is perhaps unsurprising, considering the

prevalence of equal opportunities rhetoric in successive NCPE revisions. It appears, then, that the government have successfully used their greater power chances in the policy process to constrain the actions of those PE teachers who may have had other – perhaps conflicting – ideologies and objectives, to adopt the concept of equal opportunities as a way of aligning their practices to the inclusion framework set out by the British Government. From this, it may first appear that we will be able to understand the course of the NCPE 2000 implementation process largely in terms of the plans and objectives of the government, because of their apparent ability to use their coercive power to ensure that PE teachers are working towards their inclusion objectives.

It appears, however, that, on closer inspection, what many of the teachers in Smith's (2004) study considered the process of inclusion to be, and what they actually did in practice, was more in line with the traditional conceptualization of 'integration'. That is, it seems that the everyday practices of PE teachers resembled a process whereby the onus was on the pupils with SEN to 'integrate themselves' into the lesson as it was planned for the majority of pupils (Smith, 2004); a process which highlights the limited power chances that pupils with SEN often have in relation to their influence over the content of the PE lesson. Indeed, on many occasions it seems that the power of pupils with SEN within the PE figuration is so unequal – when compared to PE teachers and their age-peers – that some teachers are not even taking into account the capabilities of some pupils with SEN when they plan the lesson. Perhaps more importantly, however, it also appears that, despite the fact that the government were the most powerful player of all those involved in the formulating of the NCPE 2000 – a position which enabled them to control, to varying degrees, the outcomes generated from the formulation process – they have been unable to control some of the outcomes generated from the implementation of the NCPE 2000. Instead, it seems that PE teachers – a group of players

who's power chances were constrained by the actions of the government during the formulation of the NCPE 2000 – are now able – through the formulation of a flexible curriculum which they can adapt, to varying degrees, as they deem necessary – to determine the extent to which pupils with SEN are included in PE lessons.

In attempting to shed light on this 'integration' process, teachers in studies by Smith (2004) and Morely *et al.* (2005) were asked to conceptualize 'inclusion' and 'integration'. In response, many teachers found it difficult to distinguish between the two terms, whilst one teacher, articulating the view held by many, suggested that the terms inclusion and integration are 'virtually the same thing' (Smith, 2004, p. 46). In this vein, Vickerman (2002) suggests that, along with teachers, many academics and policy-makers also use the terms inclusion and integration synonymously with regards to incorporating pupils with SEN into PE lessons. One potential outcome of this conceptual ambiguity is that it could lead to a 'potential confusion in the interpretations of values and principles relating to inclusive education' (Vickerman, 2002, p. 79). The National Curriculum Handbook (DfEE/QCA, 1999d), for example, uses the terms inclusion, integration and mainstreaming interchangeably within one document, and PE teachers would need to understand the conceptual differences between these terms if they are to use their power chances to limit the unplanned outcomes of the NCPE 2000, and achieve the government's objective of providing meaningful experiences of PE for pupils with SEN. However, it is perhaps unsurprising that PE teachers find it difficult to conceptualize the term inclusion, or devise strategies to include pupils with SEN, when many of the other players who comprise a teacher's relational network also find it difficult to agree-upon what inclusion actually involves. That is to say, whilst there is no consensus for the ambiguous term of inclusion between academics and policy-makers, the interpretation of inclusion will continue to be largely determined by the teachers themselves.

With this is mind, it is argued that without a clear conceptualization of inclusion, many PE teachers will continue to 'include' pupils with SEN in ways that are compatible with their competitive sport and team game ideologies (these will be examined later); a process which can affect the extent to which some pupils with SEN are actually included in PE (Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Vickerman, 2003). Together with an opaque conceptualization of inclusion, much of the available research has pointed towards the unplanned outcomes generated from the NCPE 2000 because of its inappropriate structure and content.

Pupils with SEN: Their Views and Experiences of the NCPE

As noted above, much of the available research points towards the way in which, when compared to their age-peers, pupils with SEN receive a narrower PE curriculum – a process which may decrease the power chances of these pupils in relation to their age-peers – in which they tend to participate in more individualized activities such as swimming, gymnastics, badminton and dance (Atkinson and Black, 2006; Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004, 2008; Smith and Green, 2004; Sport England, 2001). A study conducted by Sport England (2001), for example, suggests that 64 per cent of pupils with SEN had participated in PE 'frequently' – that is, on at least 10 occasions in the last year – in school, whilst 83 per cent of all pupils had participated in PE 'frequently' during the same period (Sport England, 2001). The same study, moreover, suggested that the number of different PE activities undertaken by pupils with SEN in school 'at least once' in a year (6 activities) was lower than for all pupils (8 activities) during the same period (Sport England, 2001). From these data, it appears that the government, despite ostensibly being the most powerful player in the policy process, have been unable to control the outcomes generated from the implementation of the NCPE. Specifically, the government have been unable to achieve their objective of providing

a broad and balanced curriculum for *all pupils* because some pupils with SEN are spending less time in PE, and are participating in a narrower range of activities when compared to their age-peers. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, Sport England's (2001) report suggests that young disabled people in special schools were more likely to participate in PE than those in mainstream schools, both 'at least once' (93 per cent and 89 per cent, respectively) and 'frequently' (69 per cent and 59 per cent, respectively) (Sport England, 2001). In light of these latter data, it seems that despite UNESCO suggesting that the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream schools would bring about a 'genuine equalization of opportunities' (UNESCO, 1994, p. 11) and thus, they assumed, increase the power chances of pupils with SEN more generally, an unplanned outcome of this inclusion process has been that the opportunities for pupils with SEN have actually decreased, in PE at least, when compared to their age-peers in special schools. In other words, rather than decreasing the power disparity between pupils with and without SEN, research suggests that an unplanned outcome of the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE is that the balance of power between these two players has become more unequal; a process that has, perhaps, reinforced, rather than ameliorated, barriers between pupils with and without SEN.

In research conducted by Fitzgerald (2005) and Smith (2004), it was not uncommon for some pupils with SEN to leave the activity being delivered – which was usually a team game or competitive sport – and, perhaps more importantly, their age-peers, to practice skills or do other activities if they were unable to 'integrate themselves' into what had been planned. In this regard, it is again worth noting that the 1992 PE Working Group, together with the testimonies of some PE teachers in research conducted by Morely *et al*. (2005) and Smith (2004), considered those activities that are increasingly marginalized in the PE curriculum, such as swimming, gymnastics, badminton and dance (Penney, 2002; Waddington, Malcolm

and Cobb, 1998; Waddington, Malcolm and Green, 1997), as particularly suitable activities in which pupils with SEN can be fully included with their age-peers (DES/WO, 1991a). In a study conducted by Fitzgerald *et al*. (2003a), moreover, some of the pupils with SEN interviewed suggested that there was often a tendency for them to be involved to a significantly lesser degree in PE when the activities being taught were team games. From these data, it appears that another unplanned outcome of the NCPE 2000 is that many pupils with SEN are participating in a narrower PE curriculum than their ostensibly more able peers because the government objective of elite performance in competitive sport and team games – which, as we shall see later, is being prioritized by many PE teachers – has marginalized those individual activities that are more inclusive by design, and thus less likely to require significant modification in order for pupils with SEN to be included (Meek, 1991). In summary, then, it appears that a planned outcome of the NCPE 2000 is that the government's elite sports performance objective is being prioritized; however, at the same time, an unplanned outcomes of this process is that the prioritization of elite sports performance – by PE teachers and, in light of the content and structure of the NCPE 2000, the government – is constraining the extent to which PE teachers can achieve the government's inclusion objectives. This is because, in short, the two objectives are not compatible. In fact, the sheer complexity of the NCPE 2000 policy implementation process, together with the impact of the government's attempt to constrain teachers to achieve conflicting objectives , has meant that the prioritization of elite sports performance has militated against and undermined the achievement of the full inclusion of pupils with SEN (Murphy and Waddington, 1998).

It is important to note that for some pupils with SEN, their limited experiences of the breadth of activities offered to their age-peers is said to have had a negative effect on their self-esteem and confidence in PE (Fitzgerald, 2006; Fitzgerald *et al*, 2003a, 2003b; Goodwin and

Watkinson, 2000). In a study conducted by Fitzgerald (2005), for example, some pupils with SEN interviewed suggested that they often experienced differing degrees of social isolation in PE when they participated in separate activities from their peers. Amongst other things, this segregation process often had a detrimental effect on their social interaction with age-peers, and their confidence in PE (Fitzgerald, 2005). Perhaps more importantly, however, an unplanned outcome of the process of isolating pupils with SEN from their age-peers is that it can normalize segregation and, therefore, reinforce, rather than challenge, discriminatory attitudes and, subsequently, increase the power disparity between these two players. This tendency to teach some pupils with SEN in isolation from their age-peers can be attributed to many processes, most notably, the perceived inappropriateness of the NCPE 2000, which has been expressed by some academics and teachers, particularly because of its emphasis on elite performance in competitive sport and team games.

Elite Performance in Competitive Sport and Team Games

Penney and Evans (1997, 1999), and Green (2008), amongst others, have suggested that since its inception, the NCPE has continued to prioritize competitive sport, and, for the most part, team games. It is worth noting, however, that the 'prioritization' of team games in British schools is a long-term process that precedes, by far, the inception of the NCPE. In fact, its roots can be traced as far back as the early nineteenth century in English public schools (Dunning, 1971, 1977; Dunning and Curry, 2004; Dunning and Sheard, 2005). Nevertheless, several studies (see, for example, Morely *et al*, 2005; Penney and Evans, 1995; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green 2004) have suggested that through the apparent emphasis that the government has placed on achievement, skill and performance in the NCPE 2000, many pupils with SEN are being excluded, to varying degrees, from the same opportunities and

experiences provided for their age-peers in curricular PE, and extra-curricular PE (Penney and Harris, 1997). In other words, as noted above, an unplanned outcome of the government's expectation that PE teachers should include all pupils with SEN in a PE curriculum that prioritizes competitive sport and team games is that many pupils with SEN are not spending as much time, or participating in as many activities, as their age-peers in PE. Some research suggests, furthermore, that when some pupils with SEN do participate in the same activities as their age-peers, they are often excluded, to varying degrees, from fully participating in the activity by the actions of their age-peers. In a study conducted by Fitzgerald (2005), for example, some of the pupils with SEN interviewed suggested that there was often a process of peer-led exclusion whereby some pupils with SEN were bypassed in activities, particularly in team games (for example, during a passing move) by their age-peers because of their ostensibly inferior physical capabilities. In other words, on some occasions, some pupils without SEN are using their greater power chances in game situations – which they received from their apparently superior physical ability – to constrain the extent to which some pupils with SEN can participate in the game figuration.

This process whereby some pupils with SEN are becoming isolated in mainstream PE lessons can be explained further, at least to some degree, by drawing on Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) to examine the significantly different patterns of social relations and game dynamics that are involved in individual activities and competitive sports and team games. Consider, for example, an individual activity, namely, swimming. Whilst swimming, an individual pupil can determine the duration and intensity of their physical exertion because they are not being constrained by any other individual. However, this control of intensity and duration can diminished significantly when participating in competitive sport and team games (Waddington, 2000). Indeed, when competing with or against another player or group of

players in a game figuration, namely, pupils without SEN, an individual usually has to instigate moves and react to moves in relation to the moves of other players (Waddington, 2000, p. 22). That is, an individual is only one player in a complex interweaving of a plurality of players who are both constraining and enabling the actions of each other. In short, when participating in competitive sport and team games, the individual has far less control over the intensity and duration of the activity than they have during individual activities. With this in mind, it has been argued that PE teachers find it easier to fully include pupils with SEN in individual activities because they are easier to modify in ways which best suit the individual's capabilities, without other pupils constraining the involvement of pupils with SEN (Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004). From the above analysis, it appears that PE teachers find it particularly difficult to include pupils with SEN in competitive sport and team games because they involve a complex interweaving of the actions of a large number of players. In this regard, the chapter will now briefly examine why many PE teachers continue to prioritize seemingly more exclusive activities such as competitive sport and team games over more inclusive individual activities.

From a figurational perspective, a teacher's emotional devotion to competitive sport and team games forms part of their 'habitus' or 'second nature' (Elias, 1978). That is, sport encompasses a significant dimension of the identity of many PE teachers and one which 'cannot easily be shaken off' (Elias; cited in Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998, p. 251). The development of habitus is a life-long process which develops most rapidly during childhood and youth, and is shaped by the experiences of individuals as part of a dynamic network of people bonded together. However, the older an individual becomes the more deep-rooted and thus more difficult to dislodge their ideologies become. By the time an individual becomes a PE teacher, then, their PE ideologies are firmly established. This point is particularly

important because it suggests that, in many cases, the early sporting experiences of PE teachers socialize them into the nature and the purpose of their subject (Placek *et al*, 1995). In this regard, a study conducted by Smith and Green (2004) suggests that 'almost without exception and regardless of age or gender', each PE teacher who they interviewed came from a 'traditional games background' (p. 598); a tradition, perhaps, they share with many other PE teachers. In short, competitive sport and team games form the ideological basis of many PE teachers' individual and social habitus (Dunning, 2002) and, therefore, their view of what the NCPE 2000 should entail. From the above analysis, then, it appears that PE teachers are using their greater power chances in the NCPE 2000 implementation figuration to constrain the extent to which the government are able to achieve their inclusion objectives, by continuing to prioritize competitive sport and team games as a way of maintaining and furthering their own and, lest we forget, the government's sporting and team game objectives.

As noted earlier, team games have dominated the school PE curriculum for some time, and this has resulted in many schools developing a team games tradition (Kirk, 1992, 1998; Mangan, 1983, 1998; Smith and Green, 2004). This process has meant that, in some cases, PE teachers are being constrained in their figurations by the actions of more powerful players, such as school governors and head teachers, to prioritize team games as a way of maintaining and even perpetuating the prestige of the school and its PE department. These processes mean that the government's objective of enhancing the educational experiences of pupils with SEN in PE is being constrained by the actions of the teachers whom the government charged with achieving this objective. That is, together with the increasing power chances that PE teachers received from the formulation of a 'flexible curriculum' (DfEE/QCA, 1999a), many schools are using their greater power chances to constrain PE teachers to interpreting and implementing the NCPE 2000 in ways which will maintain and

further their school's sporting and team game objectives. In summary, PE teachers are continuing to prioritize competitive sports and team games over more inclusive activities such as dance, gymnastics and swimming because that is what they, and the school in which they work, prefer. In some studies (see, for example, Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004), moreover, some PE teachers have suggested that they find it difficult to include pupils with SEN because of their lack of inclusion training. It is with this in mind, then, that the chapter now turns to an examination of ITT and CPD processes.

Initial Teacher Training and Continual Professional Development

In much of the available research there is a perceived failure – expressed mainly by PE teachers and academics – of the government to use their political power chances to develop policies to ensure that PE teachers are provided with training which will enable them to include pupils with SEN. In particular, ITT and CPD programmes have come under mounting criticism from PE teachers and academics because of their perceived inadequacy to equip PE teachers with the knowledge, confidence and experience to fully include pupils with SEN in PE lessons (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Morely *et al*, 2005; OFSTED, 2003; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004; Vickerman, 2002, 2007). In fact, some of the PE teachers interviewed in a study by Smith and Green (2004) suggested that the training, or indeed, the lack of inclusion training they received during their ITT, and as part of their CPD, was one of the most constraining influences on their practice. Specifically, some PE teachers suggested that without the knowledge or experience of inclusive practices or provision, an unplanned outcome of the NCPE 2000 was that they were simply unable to devise lessons to include pupils with SEN (Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004). In this regard, it is noteworthy that these findings, along with highlighting the constraints that PE teachers

believe ITT providers place on their day-to-day activities, highlight the fact that pupils with SEN have at least some power within the PE figuration insofar as teachers have to take into account the presence of pupils with SEN when planning their lessons. In a study conducted by Morely *et al.* (2005), moreover, many of the PE teachers interviewed suggested that they had received very little practical inclusion training during their ITT – that is, training that involved the implementation of adapted, inclusive lessons – whilst the training they had received was largely 'theoretically based' in the form of lectures at university (Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004). From these findings, it seems that whilst ITT providers may first appear to be a player with little power in relation to the implementation of the NCPE 2000, their actions (for example, the training they provide) are said to constrain the extent to which PE teachers can achieve the government's inclusion objectives. In this regard, it appears that whilst the government explicitly stated their full commitment to the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream schools, they have failed to use their power chances – in relation to their ability to formulate policy – to ensure that the structure and content of teacher training programmes provide PE teachers with the resources to meet this objective; a point that demonstrates a 'distinct lack of co-ordination and multi-agency work' (Vickerman, 2007, p. 11). It must be noted, however, that, even if the government did restructure ITT programmes to spend more time and resources training PE teachers for the inclusion of pupils with SEN, there is no guarantee that this approach would generate the desired outcomes. Indeed, following a key concept of the figurational perspective, a move by the government towards an attempt to align ITT providers to their inclusion objectives would most likely result in a power struggle between the government and the TTA (the organization responsible for teacher training programmes) if the TTA's objectives were not compatible with the government's inclusion objectives. In this instance, the ensuing power struggle would inevitable generate more unplanned outcomes (Dopson and Waddington, 1996; Elias, 1978).

Nevertheless, the fact that ITT providers were able to impact, to whatever degree, on the ways that PE teachers seek to include pupils with SEN, serves as an important reminder that ITT providers are not wholly powerless in the implementation figuration of the NCPE 2000.

These findings reinforce doubts raised by Vickerman (2002) regarding the extent to which trainee teachers can fully include pupils with SEN in mainstream PE. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that many PE teachers and academics have maintained that the government should use their power chances to ensure that issues of inclusion, relating to pupils with SEN, are firmly rooted throughout all aspects of teacher training (Morely *et al*, 2005; Robertson, Childs and Marsden, 2000; Vickerman *et al*, 2003; Vickerman, 2007) as a way of enabling PE teachers to achieve the government's inclusion objectives. However, Green (2002) questions the tendency to overemphasize the significance of training because he suggests that the ITT and CPD processes do not necessarily impact upon the practices or ideologies of PE teachers. Instead, many PE teachers conceal and superficially change their ideologies in order to achieve their objectives, for example, a professional teaching qualification. Once employment has been secured, however, many PE teachers revert back to their former ideologies because, as noted earlier, their ideologies are already so deeply-rooted in their habitus they are not easy to shake off. In other words, Green (2002) suggests that even if the government uses its power chances to ensure that ITT and CPD programmes are aligned to their inclusion objectives, PE teachers may still use their greater power chances as deliverers of the NCPE 2000 to further their competitive sport and team game objectives; a process which constrains the extent to which pupils with SEN are included. In addition to this perceived inadequacy of teacher training processes, some PE teachers – albeit within a dearth of research – have suggested that their learning support colleagues have constrained them, to varying degrees, in their quest to include pupils with SEN. It is to an examination of the

relationships between PE teachers, SENCOs and LSAs, therefore, which the chapter now turns.

Special Educational Needs Coordinators and Learning Support Assistants

As more and more pupils with SEN have been transferred to mainstream schools, the chains of interdependence of PE teachers have lengthened even further to incorporate SENCOs and LSAs. This process has resulted in the figuration in which PE teachers are enmeshed, becoming denser, more differential, and even more complex. One of the consequences of these processes is that there are now more players to whom PE teachers have become dependent and, therefore, more players whose intended actions both constrain and enable the actions of PE teachers. To clarify, a SENCO is an educational practitioner whose role is, amongst other things, to liaise with teachers and advise them in relation to inclusion issues regarding pupils with SEN. They are also charged with the task of managing LSAs, assessing pupils with SEN, and managing the records and statements of pupils with SEN (DfES, 2001). In short, it would appear that one of the objectives of a SENCO is to enable PE teachers to include pupils with SEN. In much of the limited research available, however, some PE teachers have suggested that the process of including some pupils with SEN has been constrained by the tendency of many SENCOs to neglect PE teachers in terms of information, support and resources, particularly in the form of LSAs, prioritizing other subjects such as English, maths and science (Audit Commission, 2002; Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004). A lot of the statements of SEN, for example, 'relate to English, Maths and Science...they don't really go into physical capabilities' (Teacher; cited in Smith and Green, 2004, p. 600). Many PE departments, moreover, have to endeavour to overcome financial constraints to include pupils with SEN. That is, whilst equipment designed to

facilitate the inclusion of pupils with SEN (such as hearing aids and computer software packages) may be purchased – from the funds designated by the SENCO – and used across much of the curriculum, in PE, much of the equipment required is PE specific, for example, softer, brighter or larger baseballs. The onus, therefore, often falls on the PE department and these financial constraints, together with a lack of information and LSA support, potentially, could constrain the development of an inclusive environment. In this regard, it must be noted that an outcome of this financial strain, together with other processes, has been that the chains of interdependence of PE teachers have lengthened further to incorporate organizations such as the Youth Sports Trust (YST), who provide equipment for PE departments (Thomas and Smith, 2009). Nonetheless, the above findings suggest that some SENCOs are using their greater power chances within the school figuration – which they gained through their ability to control and designate information and resources – to further their objectives for core subjects such as English, maths and science. Subsequently, an unplanned outcome of this process has been that many PE teachers feel constrained and unable to deliver the government's inclusion objectives for PE because of the lack of support they receive from SENCOs – both financially and in the form of resources and information – regarding the abilities of pupils with SEN, when planning their curriculum (Smith and Green, 2004).

In this vein, the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE lessons has allegedly been compromised further by the tendency of many LSAs – who have increasingly become a central part of a PE teacher's figuration – to place varying degrees of constraint upon the everyday activities of PE teachers (Hodge, Ommah, Casebolt, LaMasters and O'Sullivan, 2004; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004; Smith and Thomas, 2005). In particular, many of the LSAs are traditionally classroom based assistants and their lack of PE training has resulted in some PE teachers considering some LSAs 'more of a hindrance than a help' in

relation to the impact their presence has on the effectiveness of their teaching (Smith and Green, 2004, p. 601). Furthermore, some PE teachers *and* some pupils with SEN consider the presence of LSAs in PE lessons as having a negative impact on the social interaction and learning of pupils with SEN, in relation to their age-peers (Fitzgerald *et al*, 2003a, 2003b; Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith and Green, 2004). In other words, an unplanned outcome of the presence of LSAs in PE lessons is that they are playing a part in reinforcing, rather than the breaking down, barriers between pupils with and without SEN. Conversely, however, some of the teachers in Smith and Green's (2004) study identified the pragmatic benefits of having LSAs in their lessons. For example, some PE teachers suggested that the presence of LSAs allowed them to 'get on with teaching the other pupils' (Teacher; cited in Smith and Green, 2004, p. 601). That is, the teacher could assign an LSA to a pupil with SEN to work on a one-to-one basis, whilst the teacher taught the activity they had planned for the rest of the class. Again, however, an unplanned outcome of this process is that it can contribute to the isolation of pupils with SEN in PE, reinforce barriers between pupils with and without SEN, and, perhaps, build barriers between PE teachers and pupils with SEN. Nonetheless, these comments highlight what some PE teacher's perceive as an enabling dimension of the relationship they have with LSAs.

Thus far, the chapter has explored the planned and unplanned outcomes of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the experiences of PE for pupils with SEN. There is a concern, however, amongst some PE teachers, that including some pupils with SEN – most notably, those with emotional and behavioural difficulties – in mainstream PE lessons can have, not only an impact on the learning, development and experiences of other pupils with SEN, but also the same impact on pupils without SEN in the class (Diamond, 1994; Heflin and Bullock, 1999; Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004). These concerns are expressed in the following

excerpt: ‘you want to be giving them [pupils with SEN] a good deal and then I do think about the other members of the group, wondering if that person is holding them back’(Teacher; cited in Morely *et al*, 2005, p. 92). In the same study, a different teacher expressed similar concerns for their pupils without SEN, by suggesting: ‘you have to be careful you don’t negate the point of it for the more able pupils, so that they’re bringing the level of their play down to include others’ (Teacher; cited in Morely *et al*, 2005, p. 92). These comments appear to suggest that the success of the lesson is determined by the level of performance achieved and not the extent to which pupils with SEN are included. Nevertheless, the comments also highlight the fact that teachers are entangled in a ‘double bind’ (Smith and Green, 2004, p. 602) because of the conflict of a subject that endeavours to promote the inclusion of pupils with SEN and elite sports performance simultaneously, as part of the objectives set out in the NCPE 2000 (DfEE/QCA, 1999b). In other words, PE teachers are constrained to meet what they perceive are the needs of pupils with SEN, whilst attempting to ensure that the whole class fulfils their potential.

Conclusion

It appears that the formulation of the NCPE 2000 intended to provide, amongst other things, more equitable and positive experiences of PE for pupils with SEN. In reality, however, research points towards the way in which, when compared to their age-peers in mainstream and special schools, some pupils with SEN tend to participate less frequently, and in a narrower range of activities during curricular and extra-curricular PE (Atkinson and Black, 2006; Morely *et al*, 2005; Penney and Harris, 1997; Smith, 2004, 2008; Smith and Green, 2004; Sport England, 2001). An unplanned outcome of these differential experiences of PE is that they have had a negative effect on the self-esteem and confidence of some pupils with

SEN in PE (Fitzgerald, 2006; Fitzgerald *et al*, 2003a, 2003b; Goodwin and Watkinson, 2000). In endeavouring to explain these findings, it has been suggested that, although the government would first appear to be the most powerful player within the implementation figuration, they have been unable to control the course of the NCPE 2000 implementation process, or some of the outcomes generated from this process, to ensure that their inclusion objectives are achieved. Instead, it is PE teachers who were given the power – through a flexible curriculum – to determine the extent to which pupils with SEN are included in the NCPE 2000. In turn, it has been highlighted how many PE teacher are using their increasing power chances to prioritize the government's, and their own, competitive sport and team game objectives; a process which has affect the experiences and opportunities of pupils with SEN in the NCPE 2000.

The chapter, moreover, has examined research which suggests that PE teachers are being constrained in their endeavours to include pupils with SEN by the actions of school governors and head teachers, ITT and CPD providers, SENCOs and LSAs (Audit Commission, 2002; Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Fitzgerald *et al*, 2003a, 2003b; Morely *et al*, 2005; OFSTED, 2003; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004; Vickerman, 2002, 2007). This is because each of these players has their own, often conflicting, objectives which they want to maintain and further; and the sheer complexity of the subsequent power struggles that ensue, has meant that the NCPE 2000 implementation process has generated some unplanned outcomes. Finally, it also appears that whilst the government explicitly stated their intention in the NCPE 2000 to ensure that all pupils with SEN are fully included in mainstream PE, the inclusion of an objective which focuses on elite performance in competitive sports and team games has further constrained the extent to which their inclusion objectives would be achieved because, in short, these two objectives are not compatible. That is, the government's

attempt to constrain PE teachers to achieve conflicting objectives, has meant that the prioritization of elite performance, competition and achievement in PE has militated against and undermined the achievement of the full inclusion of pupils with SEN (Murphy and Waddington, 1998).

In the Conclusion to this thesis, a summary of the main themes and issues raised by the study will be provided. The original research question will also be revisited, and an examination of the extent to which this question has been addressed will be provided. Finally, the Conclusion will revisit the NCPE 2000 formulation and implementation processes, and examine how an understanding of unplanned outcomes may help identify and minimize any potential implications for future NCPE revisions, in relation to pupils with SEN.

Conclusion

Using the key concepts and assumptions that underpin the figurational perspective, the central objective of this thesis has been to examine the planned and unplanned outcomes that are associated with the formulation and implementation of the NCPE 2000 in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN. The use of a figurational approach and, in particular, of Elias's game models (Elias, 1978) has enabled the researcher, it has been argued, to examine how wider social processes such as the campaigns undertaken by the disabled people's movement (Oliver and Barnes, 2008) – in which the UPIAS played a central role – and international policy developments have contributed, to varying degrees, to the increasing power chances of some disabled people generally in the wider society. Moreover, it was claimed that these processes constrained the British Government to provide all pupils with the opportunity to be educated in a mainstream school. In particular, this thesis has highlighted how more powerful groups in the policy process – such as UNESCO – have used their greater power chances in relation to their ability to formulate international policy and influence national policy to constrain the British Government, through the 1994 Salamanca Statement, to develop their own inclusive education policies such as the 1981 Education Act and the 2001 SENDA legislation. An outcome of these wider processes has been a gradual transference of pupils with SEN from special schools to the mainstream education system and, therefore, the figurations of mainstream school PE teachers.

The thesis has also argued, moreover, that the use of Elias's game models and documents such as the NCPEs and their associated consultation materials, has enabled the researcher to examine the extent to which the objectives of each player involved in the formulation of the NCPE in 1992, 1995 and 2000, and their subsequent power struggles associated with the relational constraints that characterized the whole network, impacted upon the formulation of the documents' overall objectives. In this regard, the thesis has argued that the government were able to constrain, to varying degrees, the power of the PE Working Groups by setting the format for the Working Groups' recommendations, the groups they should consult, and the time scale within which they were expected to complete their consultation and recommendations. In fact, the government were in such a powerful position during the formulation of the NCPEs they could actually reject the Groups' recommendations and even disband the Groups if their recommendations compromised the government's PE objectives, which focused largely on elite performance in competitive sport and team games. These constraints ensured that during the course of the formulation of the NCPEs, the outcomes generated from these processes could be largely understood in relation to the objectives of the government. Nevertheless, because of the work undertaken by the disabled people's movement, and policy developments generally, the NCPE in 1992 and its subsequent revisions were also underpinned, rhetorically at least, by the concept of equal opportunities. In endeavouring to ensure that all pupils with 'SEN' – a concept that was introduced in the 1981 Education Act (DES, 1981) – were included in mainstream PE lessons, the NCPE 2000 set out a flexible PE curriculum with PE teachers – a group of players who had little power within the formulation of the NCPEs – charged with the task of adapting this sport and, more particularly, team game dominated curriculum in ways to ensure that all pupils with SEN are fully included. In other words, although the government constrained, to varying degrees, the extent to which their objectives could be challenged by the Working Groups, their actions

gave PE teachers the power to determine the extent to which their sporting and inclusion objectives would be achieved. This process shows how less powerful groups such as teachers often have the ability to constrain the actions of more powerful groups such as the government.

In this vein, much of the available research examined for this thesis suggests that an unplanned outcome of this process, whereby teachers are expected, through legislation, to include pupils with SEN within a curriculum that prioritizes elite sports performance, is that many pupils with SEN, when compared to their age-peers, are spending less time in PE, and are participating in a narrower range of activities; a process that is said to have a negative effect on their self-esteem and confidence in PE (Fitzgerald, 2006; Fitzgerald *et al*, 2003a, 2003b; Goodwin and Watkinson, 2000). From these findings it appeared that, despite the fact that the government are the most powerful player within the implementation figuration, they have been unable to ensure that their inclusion objectives are being achieved. Instead, it is PE teachers who are using their increasing power chances as deliverers of the NCPE to constrain the actions of the government, and prioritize competitive sport and team games as a way of advancing their own objectives. At the same time, moreover, this thesis has highlighted research which suggests that some PE teachers are being constrained in their figurations by more powerful groups such as school governors and head teachers to further prioritize team games as a way of maintaining and perpetuating the prestige of the school. From this research, it appears that whilst the government explicitly stated their intention in the NCPE 2000 to ensure that all pupils with SEN are fully included in mainstream PE lessons, the inclusion of an objective which focuses on elite performance in competitive sport and team games is further constraining the extent to which their inclusion objectives are being achieved. This is because, in short, the government's sporting and inclusion objectives are not

compatible. That is to say, the sheer complexity of the NCPE 2000 policy implementation process, and the impact of the government's attempt to constrain teachers to achieve their competitive sport objectives as well as manage their inclusion priorities, has meant that the prioritization of elite sports performance, competition and achievement in PE has militated against and undermined the achievement of the full inclusion of pupils with SEN (Murphy and Waddington, 1998).

In much of the available research, moreover, there is a perceived failure – expressed mainly by PE teachers and academics – of the government to use their power chances in relation to their ability to formulate policy, to provide PE teachers with training programmes which will equip them with the knowledge, skills and confidence to fully include pupils with SEN in mainstream PE (Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith, 2004; Smith and Green, 2004; OFSTED, 2003; Vickerman, 2002, 2007). More specifically, many PE teachers believe that the actions of ITT providers – a player who would ostensibly appear to have little power within the implementation figuration – are constraining them, in their practice, to deliver the government's inclusion objectives. This is mainly because the practices of ITT providers – that is, the training they provide – are not compatible with the government's inclusion objectives. Additionally, some PE teachers – albeit within a dearth of research available – have suggested that the achievement of the greater inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE has been constrained by the actions of SENCOs. In particular, some teachers have been critical of the tendency of some SENCOs to uses their greater power chances – which they received through their ability to control resources – to neglect PE teachers in terms of information, support and resources in order to advance their own, and their school's, English, maths and science objectives (Audit Commission, 2002; Morely *et al*, 2005; Smith and Green, 2004). In short, it appears that the government's inclusion objectives for PE are

being constrained because they are not compatible with the objectives of SENCOs. Finally, some research suggests that both PE teachers and pupils with SEN consider the presence of LSAs in PE lessons as having a negative impact on the social interaction and learning of pupils with SEN in relation to their age-peers. In other words, whilst LSAs are employed to facilitate the inclusion of pupils with SEN in the NCPE 2000, an unplanned outcome of their presence is that they are, to varying degrees, reinforcing, rather than breaking down, barriers between pupils with and without SEN. In light of these main findings, the next section of this Conclusion reflects on some of the main policy implications for future NCPE revisions that arise from the thesis and, with these in mind, submits some recommendations.

Policy Implications and Recommendations

At the outset, it must be noted that the following implications and subsequent recommendations are provided not from the position of what '*ought to be done*' but, rather, from what is 'within the *realms of possibility*' (Smith, 2006, p. 400 emphasis in the original) should the British Government wish to limit the unplanned outcomes associated with the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE. To begin, the thesis suggests that unplanned outcomes (such as those highlighted above) are a consequence of the complex interweaving of the actions of a large number of players pursuing their own objectives, but with no single player able to control the course of the game (Dopson and Waddington, 1996) or, more specifically, the implementation of the NCPE. However, the fact that this thesis has argued that processes of policy formulation and implementation almost inevitably generate unplanned outcomes, does not mean that planning is a futile process (Dopson and Waddington, 1996). Rather, it is suggested that a greater degree of detachment is required from the government and policy-makers during the formulation of NCPE policy; that is, they

should endeavour to adopt a relatively-detached position. By achieving a greater degree of detachment, the government and policy-makers will be able to examine and understand the relational complexities involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPE, and how the aspirations and objectives of each player are more or less constrained by those of other players. Once these players and their objectives have been identified, the government could constrain the actions of these players to ensure that they are working towards the government's inclusion objectives. For example, the government could develop a more rigid, more prescriptive PE curriculum – which is designed from the outset to be inclusive – in order to constrain the actions of PE teachers. They could also set clear guidelines stating the role of schools, head teachers, PE teachers, ITT providers, SENCOs and LSAs in relation to the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream PE, to ensure that all the players know what they are responsible for, and what is expected of them.

It is suggested, moreover, that the British Government and NCPE policy-makers must realize that their inclusion objectives and elite performance objectives are not compatible, and that by continuing to prioritize elite performance in competitive sport and team games, some pupils with SEN will continue to become isolated in PE lessons. What the government can do, then, if they are fully committed to the full inclusion of pupils with SEN, is to take account of the fact that the participation of all pupils in PE is both constrained and enabled by their age-peers, and develop a curriculum that is more geared towards the individual and their own capabilities. The government could also use their power chances to develop policy to ensure that ITT programmes are structured in such a way as to equip PE teachers with the knowledge, skills and confidence to include pupils with SEN because, at present, research suggests that the practices of ITT providers are not compatible with the government's inclusion objectives. For example, time could be dedicated to a process whereby trainee

teachers transfer the theoretical knowledge they gained through university lectures to a practical setting such as a special school. This would enable trainee teachers to work with pupils with SEN, and teachers who have experience seeking to include pupils with SEN in PE.

Additionally, the government and policy-makers must realize that PE teachers are constrained in their figurations by the actions of SENCOs and LSAs. Therefore, the government must use their power chances to develop policies to ensure that the objectives of SENCOs are compatible with their inclusion objectives for PE. To achieve this, the government would have to ensure that SENCOs distributed their resources and information evenly between all departments. Again, however, it must be noted that, like all policies, this recommendation may come to be undermined by the extent to which the whole relation network are committed to the government's inclusion objectives for PE. Moreover, with the increasing pressure placed on schools, by the government, to improve their academic results in English, maths and science, it is perhaps unlikely that this recommendation will be implemented. Perhaps a more realistic recommendation, then, is for the government to constrain SENCOs to review current statements of SEN to include the PE context. Furthermore, in relation to the research which suggests that some LSAs are constraining the extent to which teachers can include pupils with SEN in mainstream PE, it is suggested that the government should use their power chances to further constrain SENCOs to ensure that training opportunities are made available for LSAs which allow them to become familiar with the PE curriculum and inclusive practices within the PE context. This could involve 'on the job' training; that is, training whereby the LSAs shadow special school PE teachers and mainstream school PE teachers to help them gain a better understanding of delivering PE to pupils with SEN. Finally, given what has been said above about unplanned outcomes, it is also suggested that a

systematic process of monitoring should be built into future NCPE policies, from the outset, so that the government can measure the extent to which they are achieving their education objectives. By monitoring and evaluating NCPE implementation processes – perhaps in the form of PE teacher and pupil surveys – the government may be able to identify and, subsequently limit, through policy revisions, some of the unplanned outcomes of future NCPE revisions.

To end, it is hoped that by identifying the process whereby the intended actions of all the players involved in the formulation and implementation of the NCPE 2000 generated unplanned outcomes, and by using Elias's game models to understand them, this thesis will stimulate further analysis of these largely neglected aspects of NCPE policy formulation and implementation.

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